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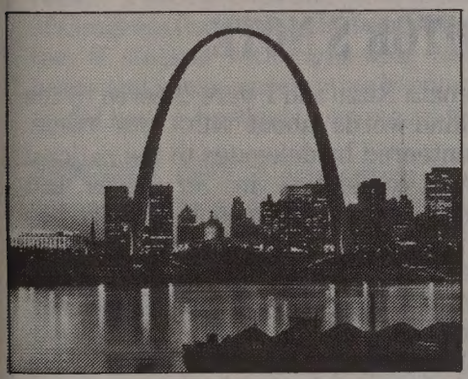

The Spirit Of St. Louis

A record number of delegates turned out in St. Louis for the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign's fifth national conference. They made a number of important and provocative decisions, but even more significant was the mood of the crowd: determined, energetic, boisterous.

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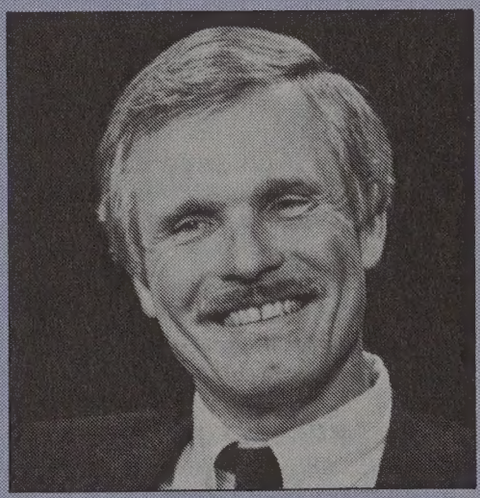
Why We Must Take On Trident II

By Howard Morland

■ *Page 17*

Shultz, Gromyko & the Movement

■ *Page 11*



Ted Turner on "Threads"

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TIMES

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Letters

Winter Storm Watch

The "Blueprints" feature in the October/November issue states, "Articulating the policy implications of the nuclear winter theory is being left to the policymakers, who seem to be holding a guarded silence." I feel nuclear war effects, as distinguished from individual weapon effects, are of such importance that a new national laboratory should be established to study all aspects of nuclear war. Since the "nuclear winter" effect went undiscovered for 39 years, we may expect that many more "surprises" lie in wait to be uncovered by dedicated study. I am now retired from a 27-year career in nuclear weapons research and development. The nuclear winter discovery may inspire many weapons scientists to want to stop designing weapons and look at the consequences of their use for a while. A career switch to a new national laboratory for "effects" study might appeal to hundreds of the weaponeers.

—Gordon McClure
Albuquerque, N.M.

More On Strategy, Unity

If it is any consolation following the election—activists could have become apathetic and think their work finished if Mondale had won. . . . What counts in America today is not what happens in an election but what pressures are exerted outside the electoral process. But we cannot hope to obtain a massive and sustained citizen pressure to demand an end to the nuclear madness until we bring about a drastic change in public opinion. Hopefully we learned a lesson from this election that the major stumbling block to public support remains a national anti-Soviet paranoia. Americans still irrationally fear the Soviets more than they fear nuclear weapons.

So if you gave up and said "what's the use," please come on back, we need you! Keep believing that our actions, great or small, are setting off a chain of events that will cause our children, and all future generations, to be forever grateful that we gave a damn and cared about humankind.

—Jerry Nowak
Milwaukee, Wi.

With the reelection of Ronald Reagan it appears the freeze is dead in the water, barely afloat. The Senate is still stacked against the freeze and even if it voted for the resolution there is nothing that indicates that Mr. Reagan would act on the concern of the American public that the arms race must end. Four more years of Reagan means four more years of militaristic macho posturing with little or no progress in arms control or reduction.

The answer is the Nuclear Free Zone movement: people really taking responsibility for ending the arms race into their own hands. Let's not wait for the politicians to do anything about the arms race; they cannot or will not solve this problem for us!

—Gordon Bennett
Paoli, Pa.

A positive, powerful national symbol would be great to use and display. It would really make the "peace, etc." movement seem more unified in the eyes of the public, media and government leaders, and actually may help the various segments of the movement pull together. The individual groups would still use their own identifying symbols, but would all have the "national" symbol in common . . . like all the fingers of one hand finally showing up on the same hand.

—Jeanne Moucka
Nuclear Free Zone Registry
Riverside, Ca.

A unity organization does not mean that each member group would need to put aside its own agenda or goals. Quite the contrary. In Eugene we have formed a network of 40 or more peace groups which meets two times a month to share ideas. It now has office space and a newspaper with a monthly calendar of events. Joint fundraisers are planned. Each group has its complete autonomy and agenda of its choice.

—Martha Mitchell Prall
Eugene, Or.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Renata Rizzo and I were cheered by the kind words about NUCLEAR TIMES volunteered by delegates to the national freeze conference in St. Louis last month. But several people criticized us for not making clear to our readers that, like many other projects, we are constantly struggling to make ends meet. Since October 1982 we have managed to put out 23 issues exactly on schedule but proficiency sometimes can be deceptive. "Don't be ashamed to ask for help," one woman from Los Angeles told us. "Your subscribers are your best friends. Ask them to send donations, take out gift subscriptions, run ads." Since we hate to ask for help ourselves we'll just let her say it for us. **—G.M.**

Send letters to NUCLEAR TIMES, *298 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001.*

EARLY WARNINGS

A SELECT GROUP: Representative Tom Downey's bid to establish a House Select Committee on Arms Control was turned back by the House Democratic caucus in a close 111-102 vote last month. A Downey aide said the committee went down, in part, "because peace groups didn't help." A select committee cannot report out legislation to the full House, but the proposed committee would have been able to hold far-ranging hearings on national security and prepare a comprehensive plan for arms control.

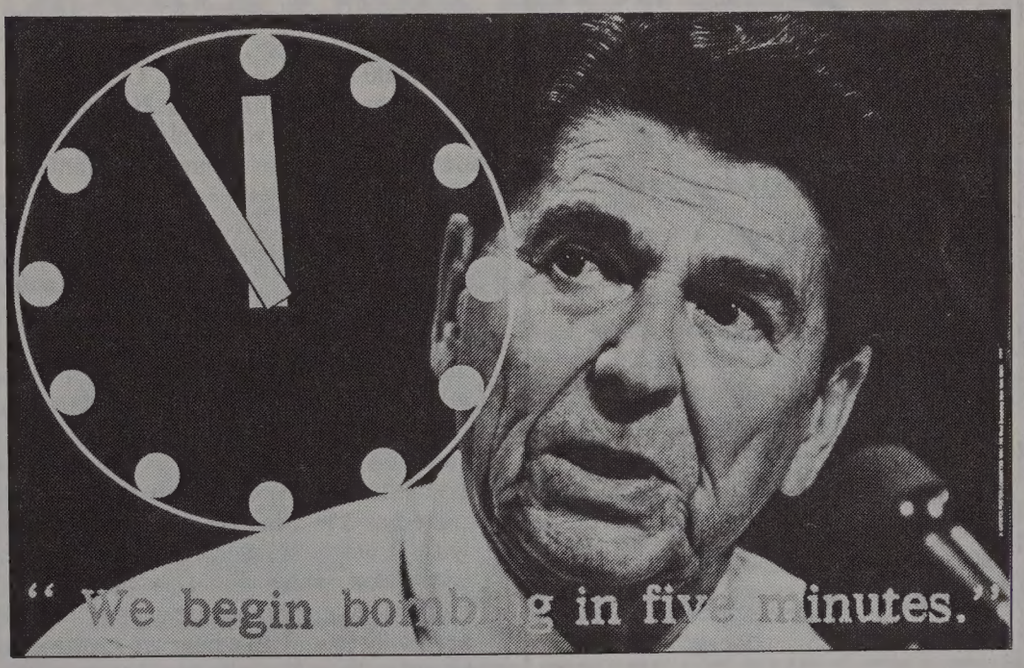
Why did the peace groups "chicken out," as the aide puts it, and not endorse the select committee? One reason is that they did not want to become embroiled in a turf battle. Downey's move was opposed by the Foreign Affairs Committee and its chairman, Representative Dante Fascell of Florida, who saw the select committee as a threat, a territory infringement. Because arms control lobbyists have to work with the Foreign Affairs Committee they did not want to alienate its members and staff. The Downey committee "seemed like a reasonably good idea, but not at the expense of good working relations with Fascell," one arms control lobbyist says. And another notes that arms control lobbyists, by remaining neutral in this fight, were able to win a few concessions from Fascell. And there was another reason. Peace groups and some members of Congress feared that the select committee, if stocked with right-wing Republicans and some conservative Democrats, would have a hawkish working majority.

Rep. Tom Downey

APPENDIX OUT: Judging from the response by the arms control community, the Public Agenda Foundation's *Voter Options On Nuclear Arms Policy* survey has become the last word on where the American public really stands today on war and peace issues. The 91-page briefing book, released in October (*see NUCLEAR TIMES, Oct/Nov '84*) has received a good deal of press attention and activists have been studying the subtle and detailed opinion poll findings (supervised by Daniel Yankelovich) for clues on how to make their antinuclear arguments more persuasive. At the Freeze Campaign's national convention in St. Louis, for example, Daniel Ellsberg led an extremely well-attended workshop on this subject.

Now Public Agenda has released a "technical appendix" to the briefing book, which presents the raw survey data. In this appendix you will find a plethora of helpful and surprising survey findings, such as the following: 34 percent of the men surveyed agreed that the United States "should always have more nuclear weapons than the Soviets"—and 44 percent of the women. Forty-one percent in all agreed that they would rather die in a nuclear war than live under communism, with 44 percent disagreeing. By a more than 3-to-1 margin those surveyed agreed that we should refuse to sign any arms agreements unless the Soviets agree to on-site inspection. And so on. Both books are available—the briefing book for $6 and the appendix for $10—from The Public Agenda Foundation, 6 East 39th Street, New York, NY 10016.

SLAPPING REAGAN AROUND: Maybe you've seen the posters—a haggard Ronald Reagan looking at a clock set at 11:55 with his infamous "We begin bombing in five minutes" statement printed underneath in red letters. They cover walls all over Manhattan, including the old Reagan-Bush headquarters, and have been spotted in Boston, California, Minnesota and Texas, among other locations. The *Village Voice* called the poster perhaps "the most effective piece of anti-Reagan iconography to come out of the '84 campaign."



It was created and distributed by five New York artists who wanted to publicize what they felt were the real issues of the campaign: Reagan's age, his failing mind, and time running out. "Wall posters are a strong way to communicate," says artist Irving Petlin, "since they can be slapped up anywhere." About 60,000 were printed, and many were posted in the New York metropolitan area by Freeze groups. Thousands were sent across the country to play a part in campaigns, such as Paul Simon's senate race in Illinois. And hundreds more were shipped to out-of-state Freeze groups.

Wherever they appeared, the posters provoked strong reactions: They were often torn off walls in anger, or defaced. Or, according to Petlin, "People were glad to see it, they said it boosted their morale. We got a lot of requests." The artists are not new to this sort of thing—two of them, Jon Hendricks and Petlin, worked on the famous "My Lai" poster of the Vietnam war era. The group plans to stay together, waiting for another Reagan blunder or crisis. The posters are available from Gabe Petlin, 267 W 11 St, New York, NY 10014 for $5.00 shipping and handling.

SEX IN THE SILOS: For everyone the prospect of nuclear war is extremely stressful. But imagine how the spouses of the men and women in the missile silos feel. Their mates hold in their hands the keys to the future of the human race—and each of their work sites has been targeted with dozens of Soviet warheads. Now along comes something for the spouses to *really* worry about. The Air Force is studying whether to allow women to work with men as crew members on 24-hour alert in the two-person Minuteman missile silos.

Currently 75 women are assigned to four-member launch crews in roomy Titan missile silos, but these sites are to

PHOTO (BOTTOM) BY STEVEN BORNS

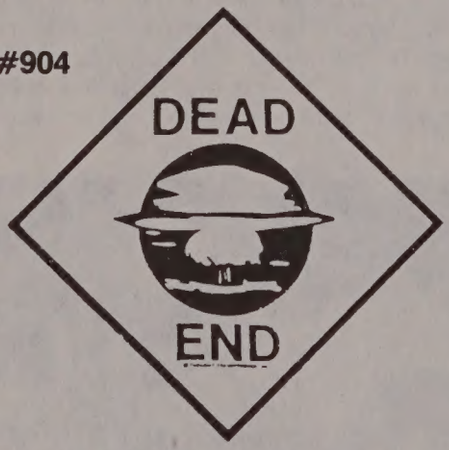
WARNING

Don't buy these T-shirts or Decals unless you intend to wear them!

#903

#901

#904



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be eliminated by 1987. Captain James Berg, an Air Force spokesman, says that the basic problems in a cramped Minuteman silo are the lack of privacy and the "stress" on the crew members—and their spouses—of locking one man and one woman into a missile launch chamber for 24 hours or more. A 1980 Air Force survey of 476 male crew members found that 63 percent of the single men favored permitting women in the Minuteman silos. Forty-seven percent of the married men favored it, but 67 percent of their wives *opposed* it. Besides "mixing" the crews others options include maintaining the ban on women or allowing all-woman crews.

And what do the husbands of the 75 women—and the women themselves—think about the mixed Minuteman crew idea? The Air Force doesn't know, but will be seeking an answer soon, Captain Berg said.

SMOKE ON THE WATER: The U.S. Navy's efforts to homeport refurbished battleships that may carry nuclear weapons have helped galvanize the peace movement in such so-called "liberal" cities as Boston, New York, San Francisco and Seattle. Can it happen again in the conservative Deep South?

Sixteen Gulf Coast cities are currently vying to be chosen as the home port of the battleship *Wisconsin*. The promises, while often farfetched, are enough to make any city drool: an annual payroll of $50 to $60 million, a $100 million port construction project, $9 million in annual housing allowances, and the creation of up to 3500 new civilian jobs. City officials from Pensacola, Florida, to Brownsville, Texas, have been welcoming the Navy's home port selection team with fanfare. Houston and Galveston joined forces when the team visited in late November, handing out lapel pins and baseball caps which showed a battleship superimposed over an outline of Texas.

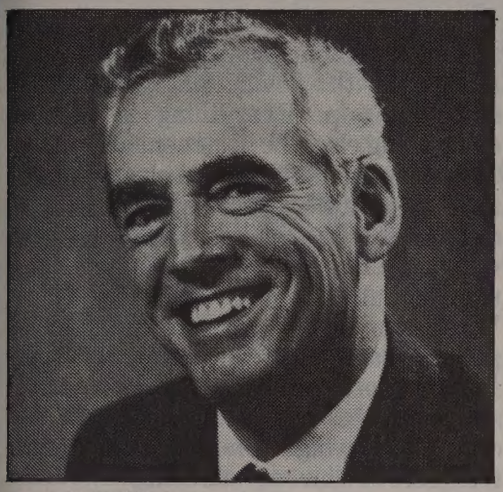
The Safe Harbor Alliance for a Nuclear Free Gulf Coast, which has about 40 members, was organized in early November to protest the selection team's visit. Members have had rallies, spoken against the homeporting at city council meetings and are arranging debates on the issue. The Alliance is hoping to form a network with other antinuclear groups, and with the 29 Texas religious leaders who signed an Advent Pastoral Letter, released December 7, which advocated a halt in the testing, deployment, and production of weapons considered to have first-strike potential. The letter was also signed by religious leaders of five other Western states.

TAKING CARE OF BUSINESS: Although the election of SANE board member Tom Harkin to the Senate has received widespread attention, the success of another member of a pro-arms control group in November has gone largely unnoticed. Harris Fawell, a Republican who won a seat in Illinois' 13th district outside of Chicago, is a member of Business Executives for National Security, Inc. (BENS), a lobbying group based in Washington, D.C. He replaces Representative John Erlenborn, also a Republican, whose voting record was consistent with the Reagan administration's positions throughout 1984.

Fawell considers himself a moderate on defense issues. As of December he was undecided on several key votes, including the MX missile, and the level of

Blips

To improve lobbying efforts in congressional districts, SANE has come up with an ambitious **Peace Empowerment Plan** which identifies 53 "key swing districts" and puts all 435 representatives into 7 categories, ranging from most to least sympathetic to the peace movement . . . . The **White Train** is no longer white—the cars carrying nuclear warheads have been painted green, orange and purple. Only the tops are still white—apparently to allow satellite tracking . . . . The **MX vote** in the Senate is still much in doubt, with Senators Nunn, Byrd and DeConcini said to be possible switches to the anti-MX side and Senator Humphrey going the other way . . . . Ironic to see **Max Kampelman**, leading Mondale foreign policy adviser, being mentioned as a leading candidate for Jeane Kirkpatrick's post at the U.N. . . . . Jobs with Peace in Minnesota will re-introduce a bill to create a state office of **economic conversion**, which would be a first for the nation . . . . Chinese proverb turning up a lot lately in antinuclear speeches and articles: "If we do not change our direction, we are likely to end up where we are headed" . . . . Parliamentarians for World Order, based in New York, is pushing support of the **"Five Continent Peace Initiative,"** with help from Representatives Tom Downey and Barbara Boxer. The six world leaders promoting the plan will meet in Delhi on January 28 to escalate their campaign. . . . Arms controllers in the House will attempt to replace Rep. Melvin Price with somewhat more liberal Rep. Les Aspin as head of the **Armed Services Committee**, hoping to turn Aspin against the MX in the process . . . . What's the total price tag for big **U.S. weapon projects** in the works, stretching into the 1990s? Latest Pentagon estimate: $747.75 billion . . . . The new Sony compact disc player that's been getting so much attention in the audio world has the unfortunate trade name of **"D-5"**.



Fawell: BENS in the House

the Pentagon budget. He is more certain about the freeze and a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, which he supports. "I came out at the very start of the campaign in favor of bilateral verifiable arms control," Fawell told NUCLEAR TIMES. "A ban on testing, and then deployment, are the first two incremental steps toward significant agreements."

Due to its nonpartisan status, BENS did not take an active role in Fawell's campaign, but the candidate did find its newsletter, *Trendline*, a good source of ideas about the defense budget. BENS, a two-year-old organization with 2300 members, plans to push a broad legislative agenda this year and will sponsor conferences to educate business leaders about a recent study on electromagnetic pulse (EMP), released by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS) of the United States Department of Commerce. The NTIS study, says James Morrison, vice president of public policy at BENS, concluded that the effects of EMP on electrical systems in the United States during a nuclear war would be 10 to 100 times worse than previously thought. "Since everything we do now is on computers," says Morrison, "it would have a huge impact on business."

CRUISE OUT OF CONTROL: During his famous "Star Wars" speech in March 1983, President Reagan called on scientists to find the means of rendering nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete," and held out a vision of a world in which population centers would be safe from nuclear annihilation. Opponents of the administration's Star Wars proposal, however, have begun to point out a serious flaw that has not gotten much attention: while the current plan seeks to destroy incoming intercontinental ballistic missiles, it ignores the threat of other nuclear weapons delivery vehicles, such as bombers and low-flying cruise missiles. "If Star Wars is going to have any credibility at all," says David Morrison, senior analyst at the Center for Defense Information, "they're going to have to plug this leak."

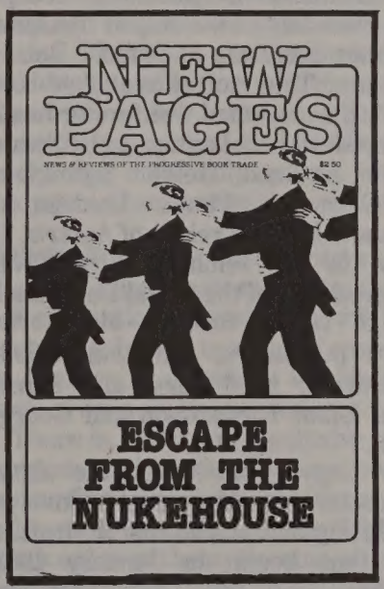
Supporters of Star Wars (officially known as the Strategic Defense Initiative) assert that the cruise missile and bomber threats are the responsibility of the nation's air defense system, which consists of an extensive network of radars and a limited number of aircraft (mainly F-15's). The Air Force is requesting additional planes and upgrading its radars, but the problem with stopping a Soviet cruise missile attack could be in their numbers. Cruise missiles are relatively cheap (about $3 million per missile in the United States), and, adds Morrison, "The whole idea behind cruise, especially the air-launched cruise, is that you send in thousands at one time." The cost of defending against cruise missiles in addition to ICBM's may become prohibitive when tacked on to the $26 billion research and development budget already proposed for Star Wars over the next five years.

GRAPE EXPECTATIONS: There seems to be something in the air in New York City. First, real estate baron Donald Trump offered to lend the President a hand in hammering out an arms control treaty with the Soviets. Now William Sokolin, one of the nation's leading wine merchants, has launched a campaign to get the President to trade in one MX missile and with the money saved "plant a few vines in the cities of the United States." Sokolin went public with the idea in December in small advertisements in *The New York Times*. "In the fall the vines turn bright yellow and are incredibly beautiful," Sokolin wrote. "Whole fields of fire. A prettier glow than one left by an MX."

Sokolin says that the time seemed right for this idea. The *Times* had recently editorialized in favor of a previous Sokolin plan to plant vines to beautify New York and an article revealed that vines were being planted in Paris. "I thought I'd continue the plan, and take it to the next step," says Sokolin, whose company, based on Madison Avenue in Manhattan, has been in business for 50 years. The ads provoked a flood of positive phone calls and letters, Sokolin reports. He wants people to take it seriously and spread the word on a one-to-one basis. Referring to his own business, Sokolin says, "We have a lot of clout. Ronald Reagan is one of our customers. I might write the President a letter myself."

Items for this section were contributed by David Corn, Agnieszka Fryszman, and Alex Miller.

ESCAPE FROM THE NUKEHOUSE



"A useful and readable guide to the literature and organizations of the disarmament and peace movement."—Cris Rom for **Serials Review**. Provides broad coverage of recent books; a lengthy annotated bibliography of newsletters (*"an excellent compilation...essential for libraries"*—**Librarians for Nuclear Arms Control Almanac**) devoted to the movement; and an extensive listing of peace organizations. The issue's inspiration is embodied in the title: there *is* a way out of the nuclear prison.

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THREADS is the story "The Day After" didn't tell. You'll see a freezing, desolate world, shrouded in darkness. Still unfit for life a generation later. A place where the lucky ones do not survive.

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A special report: U.S. and Soviet scientists agree that "nuclear winter" would mean the end of life on earth.

DISCUSSION 9:05 PM (ET)

Join Carl Sagan and a panel of nuclear arms experts as they discuss how to avoid nuclear confrontation. Hosted by Sandi Freeman.

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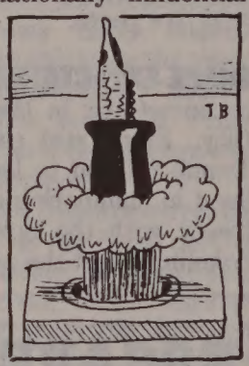
Two years ago was a particularly unsavory time in international relations, recalls Martin McCusker, coordinator of the Aspen Institute International Group's recently released statement, "Managing East-West Conflict." While East and West were trading rhetorical punches, issues within NATO, such as the Yamal gas pipeline, impending deployment of U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe, and the standstill in arms control talks were taking their toll. "The West had lost its consensus," says McCusker.

In an effort to rally the Western alliance behind a comprehensive foreign policy agenda, the internationally influential Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, which has conference headquarters in Aspen, Colorado, and 10 offices in the United States and Europe, called a huddle of diplomatic veterans. The project was spearheaded by Robert Anderson, chairman of Atlantic Richfield Corporation, Joseph Slater, president of the Aspen Institute, and former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. They pulled in an "old boy" network that included five former heads of state—James Callaghan and Edward Heath of England, Helmut Schmidt of West Germany, Pierre Trudeau of Canada and Bruno Kreisky of Austria. In addition to one female—Shirley Williams, president of the Social Democratic Party of Great Britain—signatories included publishers, thinktank chiefs, ambassadors, professors, and names such as Elliot Richardson and George Kennan.



According to McCusker the signatories sustained a high level of involvement throughout the 18-month drafting period that began in January 1983. McCusker and two staff members worked closely with special advisors, including Paul Doty of Harvard, Marshall Shulman of Columbia and Alan Bullock of Oxford. Three of the principals were active in the final drafting of the statement, including Cyrus Vance, who, according to McCusker, stayed up late the night before the final plenary meeting fine tuning the document.

The product of this jet-set seminar on the state of world affairs is an understated, readable, 30-page booklet that resounds with an overriding call for more statesmanship. Everything is tied to everything else, the document argues, so before we can defuse the nuclear threat a host of political problems must be addressed. For instance, about relations with the Third World: "We support genuine non-alignment as a way for Third World countries to avoid becoming cockpits of East-West confrontation." And about regional conflicts: "The major arms suppliers, East and West, should join in a determined, high-level effort to limit transfers of conventional arms."

The Aspen International Group urges a number of specific measures to curb the arms race. Among these recommendations: reduce reliance on nuclear weapons in Europe; negotiate to control antisatellite weapons; sharply reduce warhead levels (perhaps through annual percentage reductions) and gradually de-MIRV nuclear forces; enforce U.S.-Soviet testing agreements; resume talks on a Comprehensive Test Ban; and strengthen the Non-Proliferation Agreement. The statement also proposes a new body, called a "Strategic Panel," to be composed of "a small number of high-level U.S. and Soviet representatives . . . charged with establishing a security dialogue, weaving together the many strands of arms control negotiation and defense policy decisions involving NATO and the Warsaw Pact."

But in some of its particulars, the statement may disappoint those hoping for bold new policy initiatives. The support of a policy of no *early* first use, for instance, may seem timorous when Robert McNamara, one of the signatories, has already gone on record disavowing the military usefulness of nuclear weapons and advocating a policy of no-first-use. McCusker points out that "at no point did McNamara think the group would endorse no-first-use. He knew the complexion of the group and felt that would have been inappropriate." And the Aspen statement may have been upstaged by the almost simultaneous release of the current issue of *Foreign Affairs*, which carries a strong indictment of the administration's Strategic Defense Initiative by the so-called "Gang of Four"—McNamara, Kennan, McGeorge Bundy and Gerard Smith.

Each of the statesmen involved in the Aspen project has forwarded a copy of the statement to the leader of his government. It remains to be seen whether those now in power will be receptive to this message from the old guard. (Copies of the report available for $5 from the Aspen Institute, PO Box 150, Queenstown, MD 21658 301-827-7168.)

—Corinna Gardner

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

The New Face Of The Freeze

What can you say about a political convention that opens with an address by the former co-chair of the Republican National Committee and ends with the head of the conference announcing that he plans to be arrested within four days? The fifth national conference of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, which met in St. Louis from December 7 to 9, was chaotic, inspiring and surprising, in equal measures. It may be misleading, however, to stress the symbolism of the convention's bookends—the speeches by Mary Dent Crisp, a former GOP leader, and Randy Kehler, the outgoing coordinator of the Freeze Campaign. The Campaign has, indeed, come a long way, but it is not yet clear that it is ready to become the all-purpose peace and justice organization, promoting civil disobedience, which some of its followers favor.

Nevertheless, many of the decisions made by the 750 participants who met in a St. Louis ballroom four blocks from the famous Arch were far-reaching and unexpected, especially from the perspective of the Freeze Campaign's leadership, whose wishes were overturned almost routinely. There is a certain logic to everything the Campaign does—this is not a movement that moves quickly—but some of the decisions made in St. Louis were unthinkable just two years ago:

A Campaign whose original image was that of people on street corners signing petitions called out for several rounds of direct action and even endorsed, in certain cases, unlawful acts (see story which follows, page 9).

This "single-issue" movement strongly endorsed anti-apartheid and anti-intervention measures.

This "white middle-class" assembly backed stronger outreach efforts towards the poor, labor and minorities and backed a plan to work closely with the Rainbow Coalition.

The delegates even devised yet another change in direction on Capitol Hill and transformed the Campaign's national committee from an informal body to a democratically-elected board of directors. (To top it off, the day after the convention broke up the Campaign's executive committee decided to move its organizational headquarters from St. Louis to Washington, D.C.)

Yet the most heartening aspect of the entire weekend, nearly everyone agreed, was the fact that a record number of attendees turned out. Freeze conventions always raise the collective spirit—this is, in fact, one of their primary purposes—but this year there was an amazing sense of conviction and *joie de vivre*, all the more remarkable for following so hard on the heels of an election campaign that did not quite reach expectations. This seemed to be a more savvy and expert collection of delegates—an observation that came not just from movement cheerleaders but was offered freely by unfriendly press, weapons analysts and congressional aides, too.

Freeze Voter celebrated despite tension (left). Forsberg keynoted non-nuclear weapons

FRIDAY: Following Mary Crisp's speech, Randy Kehler greets the delegates at the last convention over which he will preside (he stepped down as national coordinator on January 1, primarily for health reasons, with a successor not yet named).

There is, in the air, a palpable sense of purpose, and tension, because everyone knows that important decisions are about to be made, and they wonder if fights will break out over them. Because of deficient communication from the national office, many delegates complain that they lack essential information about what they are being asked to decide, and this adds to the tension.

After the speeches the Freeze decision-making process begins. The national staff has spent months drawing up strategy proposals. Now the delegates will break into tables of 10 and, with the aid of facilitators, talk about what the proposals mean, complain about wording, omissions and emphasis, and take straw votes. This is the way the Freeze Campaign allows the grassroots to keep the national leaders honest—or helpless, some say.

Arriving at the convention Dan Ellsberg, a national Freeze strategy committeeman, had said that he doubted that the Campaign could accomplish much in 1985 because of the post-election blues and the arms control cards held by President Reagan. Now, coming out of the roundtable discussions, Ellsberg is almost bug-eyed with wonder. "Everything has changed since I walked in the door!" he says. "I had been with nothing but depressed people since September. I'm amazed there's so much enthusiasm and optimism here. I take back what I said before about what's possible this year!"

As the delegates circulate, it is obvious that the national leadership of the Freeze is in trouble on several issues. The delegates are not sold on the Freeze becoming a membership organization. They do not believe they have received enough information on legal issues to decide right now that a merger between the Freeze Campaign and the Freeze Voter '84 PAC is desirable. And they especially don't like the idea of taking final decision-making power away from the National Conference and putting it in the hands of a newly-structured (and actually much more representative) national committee. Some feel that this conference is the most important gathering of the year for freeze folk and don't

PHOTO (LEFT) BY MARK SANDERBECK
PHOTO (RIGHT) BY CARL EDWARD DAVIS

want it downgraded. Others, understandably, have decided not to give up their power to decide.

Merging the Freeze Campaign with Freeze Voter is a complicated question—too complicated for many delegates to handle this weekend (or to describe in this article). If the Campaign and the PAC become legally affiliated, or "attached," they can work together closely but then the PAC would only be able to raise money from Freeze members, not funders–at–large. One problem: the Freeze has no members right now and the way people are talking it does not appear it will have members very soon.

What is clear, however, is that as many as one-quarter of the delegates to this convention, who bring with them the much-needed political skills gained during the past election campaign, see themselves primarily as Freeze Voter, not Freeze Campaign, organizers. The turf battles are already raging. Some Campaign leaders worry that Freeze Voter fundraising and recruitment of staff and volunteers will turn the Campaign into merely an off-year exercise. Right out of the chute in 1984 Freeze Voter mobilized 20,000 volunteers and raised nearly $3 million, leaving the Campaign with a funding shortfall.

At the evening session, in her keynote address, Randall Forsberg promotes an idea that she has been writing about for some time: Progress on halting the arms race will only come when the public and government officials are confident that the United States is not going to get into a *conventional* war with the Soviets. One New York delegate leaves the ballroom after the speech shaking his head. "I can't believe she used the word 'imperialism' at a Freeze convention and no one blinked," he says.

SATURDAY: Debate and discussion continue but the tension seems to be dissipating. Perhaps this is because, while there are obvious divisions in the ranks, there do not seem to be the kind of irreconcilable splits (even over civil disobedience) that cause hard feelings and drive people out of organizations.

There is almost no disagreement, furthermore, with the Campaign's legislative focus for 1985 *(see page 11)*, although one amendment that will underscore the Freeze Campaign's commitment to a truly comprehensive freeze is being drafted, and will eventually pass. (There are still some hard feelings over last year's limited, discredited "quick freeze" approach.)

In an interview, Randy Kehler explains that he finds the membership debate "healthy." Opponents of membership feel it will turn a *movement* into an *organization* and inevitably lead to a loss of local focus. Kehler favors membership himself because it "will help build an enduring organization, and is a vehicle for people to make a commitment." It will also reduce the Campaign's reliance on major funders. The challenge is to do it in such a way that "occasional participants" are not turned off and so that the Campaign as a whole remains grassroots-oriented.

And, surprisingly, Kehler, the person who put the national office in St. Louis to begin with, reveals that he favors moving the headquarters to Washington. "When we started," he says, "we had no grassroots. Symbolically we had to tell people this was a heartland movement. Now we have three-and-a-half years of grass–roots tradition and the national staff is split in too many places. Washington is a horrible place in many ways but it's efficient, and we need that. I'm not convinced we can't be just as grass–roots in Washington." National staffers, he explains, may be required to work one week every couple of months at the grassroots.

Saturday night is Freeze Voter night. Representative Bruce Morrison of Connecticut, whose tough reelection win was aided by Freeze Voter and other arms control PACS, thanks the crowd and tells them that the Campaign would never be able to match the "monied interests" in resources "but people organized in large numbers are more important than dollars. You have that and no one can take it away from you."

Bill Curry, the embattled head of Freeze Voter who is also stepping down this month, closes by saying, "we never should be pointing fingers when we should be joining hands." Then the rock music begins. The delegates take Curry's advice. Everyone joins hands and boogies.

SUNDAY: The final plenary meeting. Don't ask. You had to be there.

Campaign leadership was almost invisible. The advantage of the Campaign's ultra-democratic structure is that few people would leave the conference feeling powerless, neglected, or manipulated. The down side is that far-reaching issues that may effect Campaign strategy for a year, or more, are taken up, considered and decided in two minutes or less, with amendments popping up out of nowhere. At one point during the plenary session, for example, the crowd got so carried away with direct action that someone offered an amendment calling on the Campaign to not only endorse the "Peace Ribbon" demonstration at the Pentagon in August (an event not mentioned once in the final strategy paper) but actually *organize* it. After 60 seconds of "discussion," the measure passed easily. Randy Kehler himself had to take the microphone (a spot which had seemed off-limits to national leaders) to ask whether the convention *really* wanted the Campaign to take on another major project this summer. On a re-vote the measure was changed to "endorse," not organize.

Before they were through the delegates:

- Affirmed the conference's penultimate place in the decision-making process and restructured the national committee to essentially hand over "ownership" of the Campaign to local groups.
- Added space and first-strike weapons to the list of priorities for "Teaching the Freeze." (The others: verification, accidental nuclear war, economics, U.S.-Soviet relations, the Deadly Connection.)
- Set up a task force to study a long-range vision and objectives for the Campaign.
- Endorsed the mass rally in Washington in April, "lobby-ins" at local congressional offices, and civil disobedience at the Nevada test site in August.
- Voted to continue studying a merger with Freeze Voter but to put off a final decision until next year's convention. This, proponents of faster action complained, essentially meant that any merger would come too late to be of much help during 1986.
- Decided by the narrowest margin to allow the national committee to make a decision, if it wishes, on the membership question *before* next year's convention. Meanwhile, some state organizers vowed to go the membership route irrespective of national action.

And suddenly it was over. But not before the delegates boisterously passed a resolution expressing support for those getting arrested outside South Africa's embassies and consulates, and Randy Kehler announced that he would try to be among those arrested later that week. Everyone cheered. (Were the generals of the Freeze getting a little ahead of the soldiers? The delegates would find out when they got home.) The crowd seemed so buoyant and eager to get back to grass–roots organizing that Kehler felt it necessary to urge them not to "demoralize" themselves by trying to do too much. He cautioned against "overwork"—an amazing statement considering the psychological setbacks the movement has had to overcome lately, and yet an appropriate closing instruction to activists who finally seem to have accepted a "long-haul" approach. **—Greg Mitchell**

Freeze Debates Direct Action

For the first time in the Freeze Campaign's five-year history the subject of civil disobedience has been summoned from the periphery of national debate. Randy Kehler may have set the tone for this when, in his welcoming speech in St. Louis, he spoke of "the power of personal example . . . of putting oneself on the line." There is no doubt that legislative and electoral work form the essence of Freeze strategy. But the fifth national convention—sensitive to a political climate where congresspeople are being arrested protesting apartheid, and responsive to the months of work undertaken by its own Direct Action Task Force (DATF)—took a historic step in grappling officially with civil disobedience and direct action.

"What a difference I've seen," said task force member Jim Rice of Sojourners. "In 1981, there was a proposal to start a direct action task force, but it got very little support, and the idea just died. This time the task force was formed, funded and supported. And people have been talking about the issue all year."

For the 10 members of the DATF the convention signalled the conclusion to months of often frustrating work. Their original strategy, which was presented to the Campaign's executive and strategy committees last spring, was a stronger paper than the one that eventually reached the convention floor. Among other things, it called for actions to begin on Martin Luther King's birthday (January 15), a massive August 6 action at the Nevada test site involving waves of Freeze activists shutting it down for 30 to 90 days, an illegal tax resistance plan, and pressure tactics (such as sit-ins) at local congressional offices. The idea was to construct a series of coordinated, escalating actions that would stir the public's conscience and bring about a national crisis.

But by the time the DATF's third strategy draft was issued, the Campaign's executive committee voted to remove it from the main strategy proposal and offer it instead as a separate report. A statement issued by the strategy and executive committees of the Campaign declared: "We believe that the National Freeze Campaign should not take on nonviolent civil disobedience as part of its strategy at this time."

"There was a lot of conflict over this," task force member Nancy Hale from Oregon says. "The executive committee felt the grassroots weren't ready for it. Our feeling was, 'Fine—let them see it and let them say no.' "

TERMS OF DEBATE

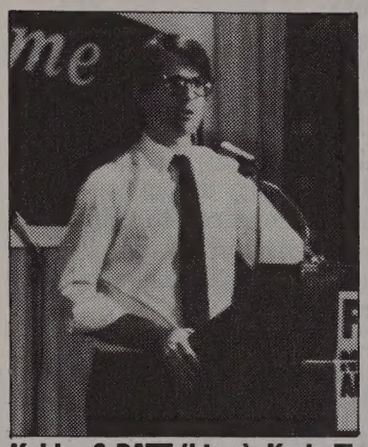
At the convention the biggest problem was definition. Much debate—and some confusion—arose over the meaning of the term "direct action." To the task force, it means "taking direct responsibility" for getting a freeze, including lobbying and a wide range of legal activities—as well as civil disobedience (or "CD" as it's often referred to). There was a general feeling among delegates that the *real* debate—and the one which could be divisive—was over whether to endorse civil disobedience, since the Freeze Campaign had already been engaging in other forms of "direct action."

But Jim Rice and other members of the DATF saw the essential debate lying in the specific strategy proposals—often lost sight of amid larger issues—put forth by the task force. "At issue here is the Nevada test site action, at issue here is tax resistance," Rice said midway through the convention. "This is *not* a blanket debate about CD."

But even when the issue of CD was focused on specific actions, was the Campaign ready to endorse it?

As the weekend unfolded, many signs were negative. One argument—which soon began to sound like the convention's Greek Chorus—was voiced by many at the "top" of the organization, and seconded by innumerable delegates: While *I'm* not against CD personally, Campaign endorsement of it will alienate the millions of reachable people out there who *are*.

"People are really afraid the movement will become radicalized," Randall Forsberg, author of the freeze, said. "And the fact is, we haven't exhausted all our other routes yet. In a way, CD is a cop-out—you're giving up on the legislative and electoral channels." And, Forsberg said, CD can foster an unattractive sense of self-righteousness. "Relatively speaking, it's easy to say 'I know the answer and I'm going to do what's *right*,' " Forsberg said, echoing a reservation Kehler—who is personally in favor of CD—raised about the tactic. "Sometimes it's harder to talk to people who disagree with you than to lie down on the tracks."



Kehler & DATF (l to r): Karin Fierke, Erin Salva, Nancy Hale, Kate Conway, Jim Rice, Shelley Douglass, Angie O'Gorman, Jim Wallis, Steve Hodges. Missing: Tim McDonald

Many activists, like Mike Kelly of Illinois, who helped introduce an anti-CD amendment at the plenary session, argue that CD would seem like a unilateral strategy to the American public. And, of course, there's the fundamental problem of having no "bad laws"—like apartheid—to confront directly. In the absence of a one-to-one correlation between an illegal act and an unjust law, the chances of public misperception are great.

But the fear of public alienation cropped up so often that several people wondered if the Freeze Campaign is more interested in not offending anyone than in ending the arms race. "It's not just fear of alienating the grassroots, although that's essential," said Raoul Rosenberg, executive director of the Downstate New York Freeze. "We might also lose some powerful sympathizers—people like George Kennan, who believe we should work through channels."

Alienation works both ways, of course, and CD partisans wondered how Campaign disavowal of the tactic would affect the thousands of antinuclear protesters who were arrested last year, and those who support them. Many were worried that the Freeze Campaign would disenfranchise portions of the religious community, which has taken a leading role in CD. And there are those, like Jane Gruenebaum, one of the Campaign's interim directors, who argue that the Freeze Campaign should encourage all types of citizen pressure. "There's

PHOTO (LEFT) BY CARL EDWARD DAVIS
PHOTO (RIGHT) COURTESY OF SOJOURNERS

always the potential for positive effect," she said, "as long as the actions are carried out with a clear moral imperative, dignity, and clarity."

Gruenebaum was probably thinking of the South African embassy protests, which for many people legitimized illegal tactics almost overnight. Some people at the convention remarked that resistance through civil disobedience is becoming more respectable.

"The time is not here yet, but I think it's approaching," Randy Kehler predicts, "when we can ask famous people to join us in CD. We don't have that one-to-one correlation that is so clear with the South African apartheid laws. But we *do* have the advantage of an overwhelming danger."

A substantial number of activists pointed out that even if the Freeze Campaign did endorse CD, local groups would still have the autonomy to do as they pleased. But if the Campaign, in its plenary vote, deliberately excluded the tactic—thus in effect dictating strategy—the movement could become fractured, its strength crippled.

THE VOTE AND BEYOND

The running debate over CD continued through the weekend, in formal group discussions and synthesis conferences, and informally over coffee breaks and meals. When the DATF's report finally came up for a vote amid the din of the plenary session, it was no longer entirely cohesive, and it did not call for the national Freeze Campaign to spearhead a single illegal action. But it did include the following proposals:

- To sponsor and help organize the April mobilization in Washington, D.C.
- To organize illegal and legal tax resistance
- To implement on-going "lobby-ins" at local congressional offices
- To encourage nationally coordinated local activities (with emphasis on nuclear weapons facilities) from August 6–9
- To endorse the August 6–9 activities, including civil disobedience, at the Nevada test site
- To organize a fall Moratorium Day

And after all the debating and talk of floor fights and close votes, all but two of these proposals—illegal tax resistance and the Moratorium Day—passed easily. Clearly a lot of opinions had been swayed. In addition, the Central America "contingency plan" (*see page 22*)—including support for its CD element—passed. In fact, in some instances, proposals were toughened up considerably by amendments passed on the floor. For example, in declaring what tactics might be considered by groups lobbying at local congressional offices, the delegates deleted the deliberately ambiguous phrase "more assertive activities" and replaced it with "sit-ins."

To erase any doubt about the convention's mandate, anti-CD amendments that came up—saying essentially that CD is not an appropriate tactic for the Campaign to either endorse or encourage—were voted down with very little heated debate.

Several clear messages emerged from the convention. An obvious one is that the grassroots want to maintain local autonomy in areas like CD. Another is that the Campaign has recognized the necessity for a variety of tactics—hopefully working in concert—to help bring about a freeze. A third is that Freeze sentiment is moving, albeit slowly, from protest to resistance.

As the DATF continues its work this year (carrying out another convention mandate) it will concentrate on education. The need for it was apparent in St. Louis, where CD was sometimes defined as "throwing rocks," and often fearfully identified with the radical tactics of the 1960s.

According to task force members, their job will also include "wrapping the American flag" around CD, tying it into American history. And they plan to get into the nuts and bolts of the tactic.

In addition to education, the DATF will lobby to place someone on the Campaign's staff in Washington, D.C., to work specifically on direct action. And at next year's convention, the DATF will present a position paper on CD which will establish guidelines and procedures for endorsing the tactic as a truly national campaign.

While many activists came to St. Louis

(continued on page 21)

C.D. Or Not C.D.?

When Joe Sternlieb from New York City boarded the plane for St. Louis he felt that "it was ridiculous for the Campaign to endorse CD." He was afraid that such a move would not only be alienating, but would also jeopardize the group's non-profit status with the IRS. "I was taking what you would call the pragmatic approach," Sternlieb says.

But conversations at the convention—Sternlieb was in two discussion groups that were overwhelmingly pro-CD—brought on what he calls a moral dilemma. "One woman said that the tax status concern was bullshit when you consider the weapons being built," Sternlieb says. Now he believes that "we have to do everything we can, including CD. It's the only way to turn the tide completely. But it has to be massive and coordinated, or it'll be a disaster. In that respect, I'm still in favor of being careful," he continues. "But I think it's important not to be cautious all the time. After all, how cautious is the Pentagon?"

Before Sarah McCoy of the Seattle Freeze left for Missouri, she felt that the Freeze Campaign had to be careful "to keep our action appealing to the middle-of-the-road constituents, or we could lose more than we gain." And despite lobbying by CD partisans that she says began in the St. Louis airport, McCoy was not swayed.

"The conference went a little more towards CD than I would have favored, but not too much," McCoy says. "Sometimes I think people want to make these gestures just to make themselves feel better. There's a difference between gestures and something that will help our cause. We've got our job cut out for us just dealing with our senators and representatives."

McCoy says, however, that she left the convention with a desire for more information. "I need to read more on the subject, become more sophisticated about it," she says. "I'd like to know what sort of actions have worked and which ones have been disasters. Maybe direct action would be okay if it's organized and is unusual enough to attract a lot of attention."

For Don Gardner, an activist from Austin, Texas, CD is old hat; in fact, he was sent to St. Louis to lobby for the tactic. But after taking part in several discussion groups, Gardner began to worry that identifying the Freeze Campaign with CD might alienate the middle class. "Those folks believe in working within the system," Gardner says. "I was active in the 60's, and the last thing I want to see is the divisiveness we had then."

Back home in Texas, after the convention, Gardner expressed relief at the compromise the plenary reached. "The main thing I learned there is that there are many moderates and conservatives who can be reached with the basic freeze message—not with CD," Gardner says. "It's not time for us to write off expanding the movement, although in this political climate it's kind of easy to do."

—R.R.

START MAKING SENSE

Heads Talk, Movement Listens

Much media and public attention has focused on the heralded Gromyko-Shultz tete-a-tete in Geneva. Going into the meeting Ronald Reagan called arms control his number one priority, and the Soviet Union declared its willingness to renew arms talks. Some arms control advocates point to Reagan's shift in rhetoric as an indication that the movement is doing something right. Despite his continued hard line, the President seems to feel the need—either sincerely or for political purposes—to champion the cause. Some arms controllers even point to the recent comeback of Paul Nitze as a heartening signal.

But if Americans and the Soviets overcome their differences and arms talks do start again, what will be the ramifications for the movement?

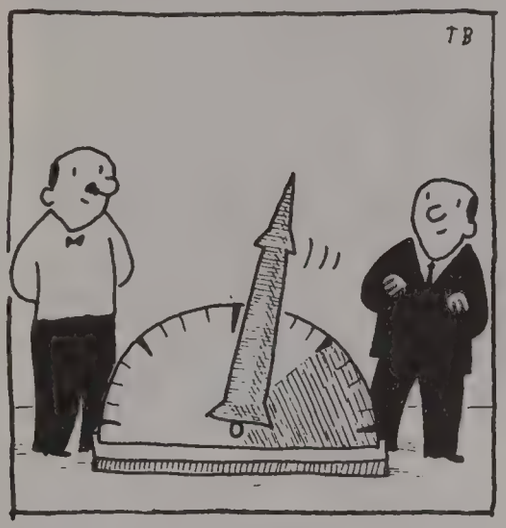
Arms control lobbyists in Washington, D.C., who are readying for a new legislative session, note that negotiations would add a new dynamic to the congressional situation. Having arms talks in progress could strengthen Reagan's hand on the Hill. A "bargaining chip" pitch could win over some members of Congress, if indeed the United States is at the negotiating table.

"The instinct in Congress is to compromise and take the path of least resistance," says Christopher Paine, senior policy analyst for Physicians for Social Responsibility. "Many members would be relieved not to go up against Ronald Reagan. Most want to believe he has changed his views on arms control." If Reagan is serious about arms control, he adds, "we're going to have a harder time."

If there is any movement in arms talks, John Pike of Federation of American Scientists notes, "we can expect the administration to go to Congress and say 'Don't undercut us at the negotiating table.' A number of members will find that persuasive." In fact, in a statement released on December 9, Senator John Warner of Virginia called on his colleagues "to ensure that the prospects for success in Geneva are enhanced through the maintenance of a credible and viable MX program."

But—perhaps ironically—this may not influence congressional action on the MX missile. Although a few members of Congress have already raised the spectre of MX-as-bargaining-chip, one congressional aide maintains that this argument is "worn out" and that the notion of "instability," which MX opponents on the Hill have long trumpeted (the missile presents an attractive target in a vulnerable basing mode) has finally begun to catch on. Because of this Paine feels that the fight against the MX is "fairly immune" from the arms talks—the MX fight, in a sense, has taken on a life of its own.

"The most attractive option to both sides," Paine explains, "is not to have a vote." In other words, put the program on hold. The movement is not certain it



has the votes to kill the MX outright. The administration would avoid a real battle on the Hill. Even Senator Barry Goldwater, Reagan's political mentor, has called on the President to give up the MX.

Arms controllers could face a tougher time on antisatellite (ASAT) weapons and the Star Wars plan. An aide to Senator Edward Kennedy says that the ASATs debate will be the only significant congressional action affected by arms talks. ASATs and Star Wars weaponry are expected to play a large role in any U.S.-Soviet talks. "If the Soviets demand an ASAT moratorium, the administration could really dig in its heels," says Pike. And that could translate into a bitter fight on the Hill regarding an extension of the congressional moratorium on ASAT testing.

But the existence of ongoing negotiations could actually aid ASAT opponents. "There will be a number of people in Congress who will be very skeptical about moving ahead on any program, such as ASATs, that will upset the apple cart on negotiations," John Pike explains. And the arms talks, if they do get going, could focus much unsympathetic attention on Reagan's strategic defense initiative, which he shows no sign of giving up. This, again, could help lobbyists in their attempt to trim the administration's budget request for the Star Wars program.

Basically, the arms talks are this year's wild card for movement lobbyists. "I don't think the legislative agenda will be heavily influenced by arms talks," says the Kennedy aide, "but the atmosphere on the Hill may be." For the movement at large new negotiations would have significance as well. Some activists have said that they fear a strong performance by Reagan on this front may pull the rug out from under the movement. But, as Richard Healey, the director of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy notes, arms talks would also present "new opportunities for the disarmament movement." Reagan has increased public expectations concerning arms control and the new negotiations. "If this is only a tactical maneuver, Reagan may get himself into a box," observes Chris Paine. "He may create the very environment he fears."

Reagan has had his wish: four years of military buildup (six years, counting the last two years of the Carter administration). He's won reelection in a landslide. And the Soviets are—to a degree—back at the table. Now what sort of arms control can the President produce? "He says he wants arms control that goes beyond SALT II and includes reductions," says Paine. "Well, we want that too."

The movement's task, *vis a vis* the arms talks, is to define what successful arms control is. "We must state what Reagan has to do to prove this is a top priority," says Mike Mawby of SANE. "We have to show he can't have arms control as a top priority if it's full steam ahead on the MX, Star Wars, the military budget and intervention in Central America."

—David Corn

FUNDS IN THE SPOTLIGHT

Will New Bills Go Over On Hill?

Arms control legislative strategy for 1985 has been at least partially predetermined by last year's successes. The congressionally-imposed halt on antisatellite (ASAT) weapon tests could end as early as March 1 unless Congress takes further action. And MX production funding, postponed last spring, faces a series of votes again in late March or early April. Unless, that is, the President heeds the call to save face and win deficit-cutting points by withdrawing the pending request for MX production funds.

Meanwhile, the Freeze Campaign is attempting to add coherence to anti-nuclear efforts on the Hill by drafting a

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

comprehensive moratorium bill as a blueprint for a congressionally-mandated freeze. The bill would provide for moratoria on testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery systems through the "conditional funding cut off" approach, used successfully last year in the ASAT vote. (This means that suspension of funds for these programs would be contingent on favorable actions by the Soviets, and possibly other conditions to be certified by the President.) The bill would serve as a benchmark, defining progress toward a freeze. A good part of early 1985 will be spent drafting the act, with Christopher Paine of Physicians for Social Responsibility in Washington, D.C., the principal author. Freeze lobbyists will spend the remainder of the year seeking sponsors, but the act will probably not come to a vote in 1985.

During the next few months, however, provisions in that bill will be offered both as separate acts and as amendments to the Department of Defense (or Department of Energy, in the case of warhead testing) authorization bills. An ASAT act, for example, is now being drafted by a group of 12 arms control lobbyists. A ban on warhead tests is being penned by Greenpeace lobbyists. They say that this act will allow them to drum up sponsorship support early, but they will probably concentrate on pushing the measure in the form of a funding cut off *amendment*. Amendments can be offered directly from the floor and thus escape the committee stage, a frequent bottleneck. (If the ASAT measure does not fly as a joint resolution, it too will be offered as an amendment.) Similar strategy is being followed for the ballistic missile flight-test ban, with active support from the Freeze Campaign.

This approach worked for ASAT testing last year, when antinuclear lobbyists attached an amendment to the DoD appropriations bill. The amendment prohibited ASAT testing for five months and provided that testing could begin after March 1 only if the President certified that four conditions—including national security necessity, and negotiation attempts—had been met.

—Douglas Lavin

SINKS TRIDENT

Santa Cruz Is Going To Town

In a surprise vote, the planning commission of Santa Cruz County (California) voted 3-2 on November 28 to deny the Lockheed Missile and Space Company's request to build a new plant to manufacture parts for the Trident II (D-5) missile. The deciding vote was cast by a conservative commissioner who only recently had decided to put whatever "roadblock" he could in front of "the manufacturing of these weapons at Lockheed." Members of Citizens for Industrial Accounting (CFIA) in Santa Cruz, which helped organize the opposition to Trident II, claim that the planning commission's vote marks the first time elected officials anywhere in this country have denied a building permit to expand nuclear weapons production. One organizer, Doug Rand, says simply: "We were amazed."

Lockheed's opponents based their arguments on technical and environmental, as well as antinuclear, grounds. At issue was a new grading permit for the proposed 33,000-square foot building at Lockheed's remote mountain site 16 miles from Santa Cruz, located south of San Francisco. A permit granted to Lockheed in 1979 required the preservation of large trees at the site, which the new building put in jeopardy. "Our foot in the door was the trees," says Rand, "but our main concern was the Trident II." CFIA published an eight-page newspaper devoted to the planning commission hearing and distributed copies of an article by Representative Thomas Downey, which called the Trident II "the Prince of Darkness. . . . the most destabilizing weapon yet devised."

At the hearing, attended by over 300 people, one speaker after another voiced concerns about the Lockheed building, stressing the absence of secure employment in the defense industry, and political and moral objections to the Trident II. Scott Kennedy, representing the Resource Center for Non-Violence in Santa Cruz, called the grading permit "Lockheed's window of vulnerability" in the spiraling arms race. But Robert Bosso, Lockheed's attorney, argued that "the application is for a grading permit, nothing more, nothing less." Nuclear weapons, he said, "are not the issue."

Commissioner Chuck Barr felt otherwise. A previous supporter of Lockheed, he had changed his mind about the arms race in the past month, and had not told anyone. "I don't think the trees are that important," Barr said. But he felt that he had to exercise a vote of conscience and try a new strategy to end the arms race. "I chose to take a step in the opposite direction of the way we've been going," Barr explained. Cheers broke out in the auditorium.

Supervisor E. Wayne Moore, a conservative who appointed Barr to the board, said he was surprised by Barr's change of heart, but he said he had every right to vote his conscience. Vern Smith, general manager at Lockheed, called the board's decision an "inconvenience" that would force the company to shift production elsewhere. Lockheed appealed the decision to the county board of supervisors, which will decide the issue this month. Another 3-2 vote against Lockheed seems likely.

"We feel like we have a pretty good chance of winning," says Rand. He admits that the action in Santa Cruz has put just a slight brake on the arms race, but calls it significant nevertheless. "We're encouraging others elsewhere to challenge these weapons every step of the way," Rand explains. "We must take responsibility for what goes on in our own backyard before expecting people to make changes elsewhere." **—Ed Hacker**

Wrap-Up

After a careful analysis of the new Congress, **Freeze Voter '84** feels that the November election cost the freeze 7 votes in the House but boosted it by 3 or 4 votes in the Senate .... The **Midgetman** is quietly moving to fruition. The Air Force recently successfully tested the first piece of hardware for the missile, an advanced rocket motor .... The Transportation Department ruled in December that state and local officials have no authority to ban or severely restrict **transportation of radioactive materials**. Several communities and three states (New York, Vermont, and Michigan) had imposed restrictions because of safety concerns .... Fellowship of Reconciliation has formed a new program at its Nyack, N.Y. headquarters, the **National Network for Direct Action**, headed by Norman Solomon .... Spurgeon Keeny, Jr., deputy director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency during the Carter administration, has succeeded William Kincade as executive director of the **Arms Control Association** .... After a year of horror stories, the Pentagon has finally formed a **spare-parts watchdog office**, but the staff of 15 is charged with monitoring about 15 million purchases a year .... The French recently announced that they will continue nuclear tests in the Pacific for another 15 years, so **Greenpeace** is sending the converted trawler, Rainbow Warrior, to Muroroa for protest actions .... In a move to broaden international focus, the American Friends Service Committee recently sponsored a month-long trip to the **Middle East** for 10 freeze activists .... SANE is working with Rep. Ron Dellums this year on his annual "alternative defense budget."

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The Months & Years After

This month TV viewers who braced themselves to watch *The Day After*, only to find the movie less upsetting than their own nuclear nightmares, will have another chance to watch the end of civilization. Only this time the filmmakers have done it right, confirming the popular theory that when it comes to television drama the British always outclass us.

The movie in question is *Threads*, an unsentimentalized account of life after a nuclear war, written by Barry Hines and produced by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). Like *The Day After*, the film focuses on events in one city—in this case, Sheffield, a large English city dangerously close to a NATO base. But the film's power is such that many people who watched the ABC movie relatively unaffected may find *Threads* an emotional onslaught.

The film gained 8 million viewers, three times the average rating, when shown on the BBC in September. Now, with the help of Carl Sagan, cable entrepreneur Ted Turner is making an exceptional effort to repeat that success here. Turner, who also owns Cable News Network (CNN) and the Atlanta Braves, has bought the film for WTBS, his satellite "superstation" picked up nationally by cable channels with a total of 33.1 million viewers. Turner has privately been an antinuclear partisan for many years, according to a spokesman, but it wasn't until he ran across *Threads* on a trip to England that he was moved to address the issue on WTBS. Indirectly taking a slap at *The Day After*, Turner calls *Threads* "the first accurate dramatization on television of what the consequences of a nuclear war would really be like."

Threads will appear on WTBS as part of a package, including *On the 8th Day*, a strong BBC documentary on nuclear winter, and a special edition of CNN's nightly news show, *Freeman Reports*. The live roundtable discussion (to be aired on both WTBS and CNN) will take place at the United Nations and feature a Soviet scientist, hooked-up via satellite link from Moscow, along with Sagan and other experts; the panel will also take phone calls from viewers. Each program will be aired three times: *Threads* on January 13 and 23, *On the 8th Day* and the Sagan panel the following nights, and all three repeated on January 27 (a total of 4½ hours on nuclear holocaust).

What makes *Threads* exceptional—and what WTBS is banking on to persuade viewers to consider the subject again—is that the film is scientifically accurate. On-location consultants ensured that the film reflected the latest understanding of nuclear war's medical and environmental effects.

Scenes from "Threads": The real thing?

As the film begins, a scenario of superpower confrontation in the Middle East is slowly developing. One month later, a global nuclear exchange drops 210 megatons on Britain—which, among other things, we are told, breaks every window in the country. As recurring titles detail the damage, the film moves through the next 13 years, showing the bomb's effect on several generations (including children born after the war) and incorporating current data on nuclear winter.

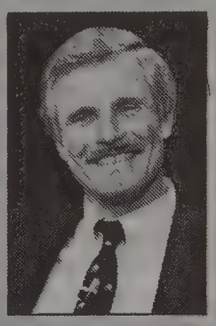
Radiation sickness, climatic changes and the bare reality that the world is running out of food are dramatized with horrific effect. And unlike *The Day After*—which ended in the hope-lives-on tradition—*Threads* closes on the repulsed face of a new mother who apparently has just given birth to a mutant.

It was this faithfulness to fact that appealed to Sagan, who is supporting the telecasts by suggesting panelists and helping to circulate advance tapes. (A summation of the nuclear peril written by Sagan appears in the WTBS press-kit.) "The film is imperfect," says Sagan. "It seems to suggest, for example, that a slightly better storage of canned food would save millions of lives. But the film delivers what *The Day After* only advertised. It should raise real questions about what the networks are doing."

Because *Threads* won't be on network television, chances are it won't inspire the kind of historic media blitz that accompanied the ABC movie. But Josh Baran, the publicist who helped make *The Day After* a cause célèbre, together with colleague Richard Pollack, has launched a last-minute, independent effort to help peace and environmental groups use the telecasts for organizing. "Just the fact that not everyone gets cable encourages group viewing," says Baran, who is phoning groups and sug-

Ted Turns On Nuclear War

Thanks to the new technology that lets you yell at a phone from a faraway chair, Ted Turner's strong Southern voice comes echoing out like someone shouting down a tunnel. "Nobody wants a nuclear war, so why are we preparing for one?" he says. "The chances of accident alone are just too great. People have to speak loudly enough to make the politicians do something about this."



Turner admits he was originally "frightened" about airing *Threads*. "The BBC anguished over it, too," he says. "I couldn't show it without offering some talk about solutions." Now he hopes audiences will stay tuned for the whole WTBS package. "Sure it's terrifying," Turner says, "but what else can we do, ignore it? At least the shows can help defuse tension by showing people some hope of progress."

One virtue Turner sees in the film is that it shows nuclear war from the perspective of a country not directly responsible for it. "Every nation in the world is endangered by the arms race between the superpowers. It's just not fair. If we distrust each other so much, let's have a conventional war and just blow ourselves up.

"I don't think the arms race should just be stopped," he continues. "I think we should dismantle the weapons. And when there's only one left, let's send it to a museum. Then 100 years from now people will see that when humanity faced its greatest crisis it came through with flying colors."

As the interview ends, Turner bellows: "Nice talking to you, hon." Then this mogul/sportsman known for his flamboyance ends the interview with the words "pray for peace." —C.C.

gesting "how people who don't have cable can be bused to places that do." Representative Timothy Wirth of Colorado hopes to arrange a special screening for Congress. The Natural Resources Defense Council in Washington, D.C., has mailed information on *Threads* to local groups. Baran's only qualm is that the last half of the film is so wrenching that there is a real possibility that "viewers will turn it off." (As it is, WTBS has edited out about two minutes of particularly strong material.)

Still, if the film becomes an event, it will be largely due to Turner's commitment. "He wants it to be the highest rated show we've ever had," says Eric McLamb, manager of public relations for WTBS. "He's told us to spare no expense publicizing it." And unlike ABC officials, who asserted that *The Day After* was apolitical, Turner is more than willing to state publicly that what *Threads* argues for is a nuclear-free world (*see box*). "I want the follow-up panel to discuss how we can get nuclear disarmament started," says Turner. "The whole world is calling for it." —**Cathy Cevoli**

SENATE RACES

Groups Set To "86" Opponents

Since Election Night, 1984, it has been widely noted that Election Night, 1986, may be a very happy time for arms control advocates: Of the 34 Senate seats up for grabs, 22 belong to Republicans who usually back the President on nuclear weapons issues. Here's a list of incumbents who (to use one benchmark) have supported the MX missile, and their winning margin in 1980:

Warren Rudman—NH (4%)
Al D'Amato—NY (1%)
Dan Quayle—IN (8%)
Robert Dole—KN (28%)
Mark Andrews—ND (41%)
James Abnor—SD (19%)
Robert Kasten—WI (2%)
Frank Murkowski—AK (8%)
Barry Goldwater—AZ (1%)
Steven Symms—ID (1%)
Paul Laxalt—NV (22%)
Jake Garn—UT (48%)
Slade Gorton—WA (8%)
Jeremiah Denton—AL (3%)
Paula Hawkins—FL (4%)
Mack Mattingly—GA (2%)
James East—NC (1%)
Don Nickles—OK (9%)

Of the MX opponents, the only vulnerable candidates appear to be Patrick Leahy of Vermont, Gary Hart of Colorado (should he choose to run for reelection), and Thomas Eagleton of Missouri.

THE FEELING IS MUTUAL

Insurance Policy Pays Off

Meet Frank Novak, political activist for the 1980's. He comes from Omaha, Nebraska, a place not known as a hot-bed of antinuclear protest. He's 26 years old. He's an artist, but also an able entrepreneur, selling everything from t-shirts and coffee mugs to baseball caps and buttons. And he's unpretentious, his hair cut short, his manner generally—and sincerely—amazed at the national controversy his simple idea has unleashed.

Frank Novak, you see, is the creator of the "Mutant of Omaha," a symbol of the futility of trying to plan for, or survive, a nuclear war.

The "Mutant" bears a general resemblance to the familiar Lakota Indian symbol used as a trademark for Mutual of Omaha, one of the world's largest insurance companies. But the logos have one significant difference: Novak's Indian is badly scarred, burned and bandaged—the survivor of a nuclear war. "Nuclear Holocaust Insurance," the shirts read. "When the world's in ashes, we'll have you covered."

The implicit point of this satire is, of course, that neither Mutual, nor any other reputable insurance company, insures against nuclear war. If these bastions of prudence think it would be such a catastrophe, Novak reasons, why shouldn't we?

For a couple of years, Frank Novak's t-shirts remained a novelty in Omaha, which sits astride Offut Air Force Base, headquarters of the Strategic Air Command. Every morning and evening, Omahans hear the ersatz thunder of B-52's rumbling overhead. Antinuclear activists regularly climb the base's fence and surrender to waiting military police. And when CBS needed a representative city for a documentary on the effects of a nuclear war, it selected Omaha. (One of the program's more powerful moments, Novak says, occurred when Mutual of Omaha's Indian head logo was blown to pieces.)

Novak uneventfully sold his t-shirts (and coffee mugs and caps) bearing the Mutant logo in his father's antique store, just one block from Mutual's world headquarters. As sales improved, Novak placed a classified in *Rolling Stone*, and lined up outlets in Berkeley, California and Washington, D.C. Locally, he taped a television commercial, featuring a well-pressed insurance salesman. He also placed an ad on a bus stop bench within

Frank Novak: Muted by Omaha

eyeshot of Mutual's headquarters. (After a few days it was ripped down and, Novak claims, subsequently discovered in the company's basement.)

Then, last August, Novak was selling his Mutant products from a booth at the Douglas County Fair when Hal Daub, Omaha's conservative Republican congressman, passed by, looked twice, and exploded in rage, excoriating Novak for peddling anti-Nebraska propaganda.

"He was about the only person to say that the shirt was disgusting," Novak says. "Most Mutual employees love 'em. Everybody thinks they're just a harmless joke."

Someone at Mutual of Omaha apparently didn't get it, because a few days after the Daub encounter Novak got a letter from the company's legal department accusing him of—among other things—deceptive trade practice and copyright infringement.

"Obviously, my logo does resemble theirs," Novak says. "I can't deny that. But it's also clear that we're talking about two *very* different Indians."

In a suit filed in U.S. District Court in late October Mutual maintained that *its* Indian has "become, through widespread and favorable public acceptance and recognition, an asset of substantial value as a symbol of [Mutual], its quality insurance services, and its good will." Mutual attorney Dennis Thomte said that "irreparable harm" would be done to the company if Novak continued to peddle his merchandise.

Mutual's move appeared to backfire at first, due to wide local and regional media

PHOTO BY JAMES KAUL

coverage. Mutual's lawyers were making the Mutant famous.

"The press by and large is looking at this as a modern day David and Goliath scenario," Novak says. "Coverage has been pretty sympathetic. There's been a lot of talk about freedom of expression." The talk has been good for business. Sales of shirts have increased three to four times. And Novak reports that some of his best customers are Mutual of Omaha trainees brought in from out-of-town for instruction.

In late November, U.S. District Court Judge Albert Schatz placed a temporary restraining order on Novak, who immediately initiated appeal proceedings. If that effort fails, a trial will determine whether Novak may ever sell Mutant merchandise again. Despite this setback, Novak has been busy making "Free the Mutant" shirts, and a new line of glow-in-the-dark apparel ("Glow by choice—not by chance"). And another new line, manufactured to help defray court costs, features a caricature of Novak, in Indian headdress, with the words "Defendant of Omaha—Nuke 'em if they can't take a joke." **—Bruce Johansen**

BOXER REBELLION

Closing The Revolving Door

Only a year after he had presided over competition between Pratt & Whitney and General Electric over a $17 million contract to build the F-100 engine, Air Force Colonel James Nelson took a job with G.E., the company that had been awarded 75 percent of the contract. Less than six months after the Ford Motor Company was awarded a contract for the much-maligned DIVAD/Sergeant York Air Defense Gun, the officer in charge of evaluating test results went to work for Ford.

These are two recent examples of the "revolving door," says Bernie Ward, legislative assistant to Representative Barbara Boxer, who plans to reintroduce legislation this month that would prevent government contractors from hiring procurement officials with whom they've done business. Boxer, along with 25 cosponsors, introduced the same bill last year. A spokesperson for Senator David Pryor says it is "quite possible" that he will reintroduce the bill in the Senate.

The "revolving door" bill prohibits a company from hiring an official it has worked with until at least five years after the official leaves the government. Because lucrative future job possibilities may make Pentagon buyers "less diligent" about a company's product, says Ward, the bill is an essential precursor to any military budget reform. **—Alex Miller**

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

Notes From Abroad

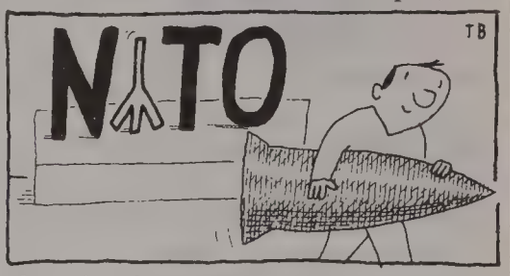
Chips Off the Blocs

As the European peace movement matures politically and becomes more certain of its role in public debate, it is beginning to produce more specific policy proposals for disarmament and what is often called "non-nuclear defense." One such plan, titled *Defence Without the Bomb*, has been put forward by a British group called the Alternative Defence Commission. The Commission suggests a series of steps for the **denuclearization of NATO**: the acceptance of a no-first-use policy, the withdrawal of battlefield nuclear weapons, the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons from Europe, and the decoupling of European NATO defense from American strategic nuclear weapons. If NATO would not agree to take these steps within a limited period, the Commission suggests that Britain should withdraw from the alliance. In either case, the strategy for defending the country would be similar to that outlined in the Labor Party's new defense document (which advocates remaining in NATO): conventional forces would be deployed in such a way that the cost of an invasion would be prohibitive.

Of course, advocates of a non-nuclear defense realize that its effectiveness would be limited against a nuclear-armed aggressor. For the system to work, the prevention of war must be taken more seriously than the preparation for it—for example, by insuring a more equitable distribution of wealth and resources around the world and by strengthening global institutions such as the United Nations.

Some sections of the peace movement, such as the **West German Green Party**, have long been interested in "non-violent social defense," which is also advocated as a fall-back strategy in *Defence Without the Bomb*. Social defense is based on the idea that all governments depend to some degree on cooperation from the citizenry, so that a well-prepared and determined population can remove an occupying army by non-violent resistance. Ironically, this idea was used by the C.I.A. in its manual for the Nicaraguan *contras* when it suggested making false calls to emergency services, sticking nails in car tires and consistently showing up late for work as ways to bring down the Sandinista government.

• The **Anzus military alliance** between the United States, Australia and New Zealand is being stretched at the seams even more than NATO. Last July, **New Zealand** elected a Labor government, led by David Lange, which pledged to ban ships or aircraft carrying nuclear weapons or using nuclear power from visiting the country. Although Lange says he is not anti-Anzus or anti-American, his party has now voted to pull out of the alliance altogether, and Washington has expressed its displeasure in polite but firm terms. New Zealand is not as important to U.S. strategy in the Pacific as Australia or Japan, but



there is a fear that Lange's ban will set a bad example for his neighbors.

In fact, **Australian** Labor prime minister Bob Hawke, who was reelected in December with a diminished majority, won his first election victory on a platform very similar to Lange's. Since then, however, he has lifted the ban on nuclear-armed ships, refused to close American communications bases despite pressure from his foreign minister, and has gone back on promises to stop the export of Australian uranium, which is used to make nuclear weapons.

The Labor Party's slight setback in this year's election may be partly due to voters' disappointment with Hawke's nuclear policy. Among his opponents were four candidates from the new Nuclear Disarmament Party, led by Peter Garrett, the shaved-head lead singer of a punk rock group called Midnight Oil. None of them were elected to the House of Representatives, but they did win a promising share of the vote in the districts where they ran.

• Britain's **Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament** held its annual national demonstration in the Cumbrian shipbuilding town of Barrow-in-Furness this year, to focus attention on the Trident submarines that are being built there. This was the first time the demonstration was held outside London, and the first time the links between nuclear and economic issues were so clearly drawn. The plant that builds the submarines is the main employer in Barrow, an area hard hit by the recession. CND presented the head of the Barrow Trade Union Council with a check for 12,000 pounds which will go toward setting up an independent economic research council to study conversion, and asked each of Britain's political parties to match the sum. **—Maria Margaronis**

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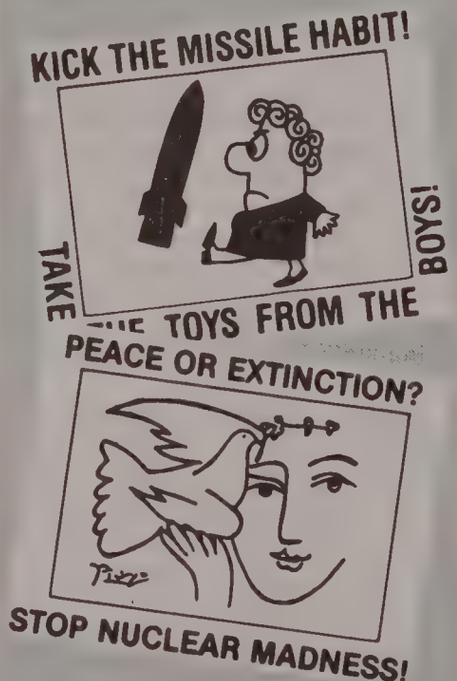

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Ideas That Work

"It's Wednesday," an aide to Senator John Chaffee said over the telephone, "where are you guys?" That week's visitor from Rhode Island's Peace Mission had become ill and couldn't make his appointed rounds on Capitol Hill. The Senator's reaction testifies to the impact of the Mission's unusual group lobbying activity.

For over a year now, 25 organizations—including the state Council of Churches, the eight-member Buddhist Peace Fellowship, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Mobilization for Survival, and the Episcopal Dioscese—have joined together in this cooperative venture. Every Tuesday that Congress is in session at least one member of the Mission gets background information on what's happening legislatively on the Hill. And every Wednesday, one or more Mission representatives travel to Washington, D. C. to see each of the state's two senators and two congresspeople.

"We are interested in bills and issues in just four areas," says Peace Mission organizer Jerry Elmer. "Nuclear weapons, conventional weapons, the military budget and intervention. We make sure to keep our discussions focussed. No talking about abortion, prayer in the schools, the ERA, or even famine relief." And, Elmer says, Mission members make it clear that they are not lobbying as individuals, but on behalf of large groups. "When you say you're representing the feelings of the Catholic Diocese, you're talking about two-thirds of the state," Elmer says. "That has impact."

Enough to actually change votes? Elmer points to the Euromissile vote in 1982 when both Rhode Island representatives "started out *pro* and ended up changing their minds." And even in cases where votes are not changed, members say that they feel a lot better knowing that they did everything possible to win. "People come back from their sessions much more interested, empowered and enthusiastic, and feeling much more a part of the process," Elmer says.

The Peace Mission gets glowing reviews from Capitol Hill. "They offer responsible, accurate information, and that counts," says an aide to Representative Claudine Schneider. "They provide us with a little different twist on each of the nuclear-related issues," says a legislative aide in Representative Fernand St. Germain's office. "A group of students talked about the economic implications of the arms race on their job searches. Some ministers came and talked about their responsibility as religious leaders to back the freeze."

Everyone agrees that it is the recurring, coordinated aspect of the project that lends it weight. And while the cost of travelling to Washington can be prohibitive for many peace groups, Elmer believes it's worth it, at least for groups east of the Mississippi. (Expenses for the day-long trips are paid by the individual, the group, or shared by both, depending on the organization.)

"Travelling hundreds or even thousands of miles to talk to someone has a far greater impact than sauntering into a local office," he says. "We're amazed at how often we meet with the members of Congress in person. And of course they're aware of how far we've come. They know we're serious."

For tips on organizing a Peace Mission, contact Elmer at the American Friends Service Committee, 734 Hope St, Providence, RI 02906 (401) 751-4888.

* * *

It's amazing what a little paint can do. In Atlanta, artist David Fichter transformed a bleak expanse of graffiti into a 71-foot-wide mural depicting the history of opposition to the arms race. The project was sponsored by PAND Atlanta and local businesses. Fichter, who comes from Boston, worked closely with the

community; locals helped design the mural (which includes scenes of neighborhood people and struggles) and several Atlanta artists helped paint it. Actual execution of the work took five weeks, and it cost $3800.

The mural's unveiling, part of the city's Week of Concern for Disarmament and International Peace, attracted wide media coverage. And it will continue to get attention, since it's located next to a theater in the Little Five Points area of Atlanta.

PAND organizer Bill Fleming likes the mural idea (a tradition in Latin countries but one not well-developed here) because "it's lasting, and it gets people together —you have to throw a few benefits." If you think your community could use one, contact PAND at 750 Kalb St SE, Atlanta, GA 30312 (404) 622-2206.

—Renata Rizzo

PHOTO BY DAVID FICHTER

NEW DIRECTIONS

BY HOWARD MORLAND

Stopping Trident In Its Tracks

Nearly all of the highly visible activities of the peace movement in recent years have been educational or symbolic. Only one, the grassroots campaign against the MX missile, has materially altered the course of the nuclear arms race. Citizen pressure has forced the Air Force to struggle for each new piece of MX hardware, and at this writing the cancellation of the MX program is a real possibility.

But with the MX contest still undecided, there is yet another missile we need to stop—the Trident II, or D-5, submarine-launched ballistic missile. It is worse than the MX in the measures that count most.

Both the MX and the D-5 are first-strike weapons whose only justification is a plan to disarm the Soviet Union by destroying Soviet missile silos while the missiles are still inside. The key to this "counterforce strategy" is missile accuracy: the ability to deliver warheads to within 400 feet of their intended targets. Our existing missiles are not quite that accurate.

The D-5 is worse than the MX primarily because it will be manufactured and deployed in significantly larger numbers. The Air Force wants 226 MX missiles in order to deploy 100 missiles with 1000 warheads. The navy wants 764 D-5 missiles in order to deploy 480 missiles with 3840 to 6720 warheads, depending on how many warheads are installed in each missile. The D-5 is also worse than the MX because it can reach its targets in 10 minutes rather than 30 minutes, allowing it to destroy bombers on the ground as well as missiles in their silos.

The D-5 will be more difficult to stop because the issue so far has drawn little attention, because the Navy is more popular with the Congress than the Air Force is, and because there are no vulnerability problems or controversial land-use problems associated with the basing mode: the Wyoming ranchers and Utah Mormons are not likely to speak as effectively against the D-5 as they have against the MX.

Many observers think a fight against the Trident D-5 missile is not winnable. Is it worth the effort? I think so. I believe the effort *must* be made. And the time to mount an effective opposition will rapidly run out if we don't act soon.

WHY NOW?

First, the issue is too important for it not to be a peace movement priority, win or lose. If this missile is built in the numbers now projected, Soviet military leaders in the 1990s might have serious reason to fear a pre-emptive U.S. nuclear attack against their missile silos and bomber bases. (Most Soviet sub-

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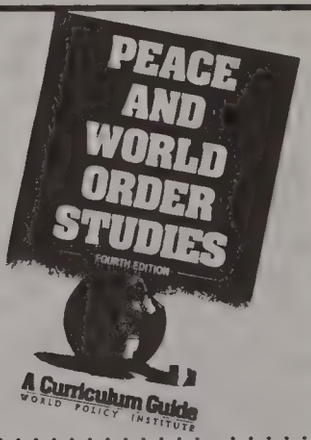

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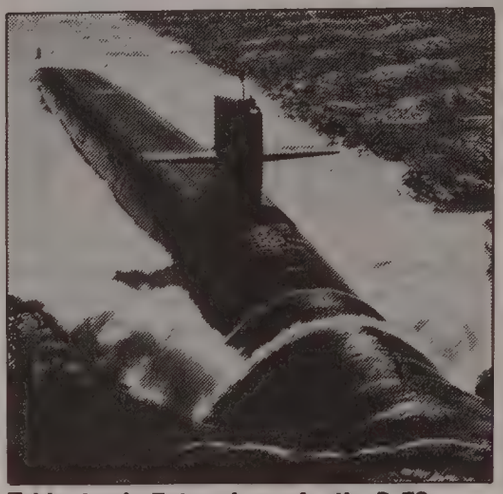
marines at sea could also be destroyed. The U.S. Navy's strategic anti-submarine warfare forces, unlike its Soviet counterpart, are very effective.) Our conviction that we, as the good guys, would never launch such an attack may not be very comforting to Soviet leaders. We would frighten Soviet leaders into striking first, either out of desperation, or by accident in response to erroneous signals from their attack warning system.

Secondly, I believe a grassroots campaign against the D-5 missile can succeed in limiting the deployment to a level that does not give the Navy a destabilizing first-strike capability. The most desirable deployment level would be zero. The Trident submarine already has a perfectly adequate missile, the Trident I or C-4, which today gives a single submarine the power to destroy the Soviet Union as a functioning society and possibly trigger a nuclear winter in the process. The submarine is equally invulnerable with either missile. The Trident sub does not need a new missile at all, and we would save $35 billion by canceling the D-5 now.

Each year between now and 1995 we can make a progressively stronger argument against replacing C-4 missiles with D-5 missiles. Each D-5 missile we don't build will save the taxpayers $30 million. Each D-5 missile we *do* build will decrease American national security by further destabilizing the nuclear balance of terror. We have learned from the MX campaign that even though one year's batch of missiles is authorized by the Congress, the next year's batch can still face stiff opposition. It will take 15 years for the Navy to get authorization for all 764 D-5 missiles. Twenty percent of the House of Representatives is now opposed to the D-5. If it takes five more years to persuade the next 30 percent to join the opposition there will still be time to stop the D-5 before its numbers are large enough to be severely destabilizing.

Finally, a campaign against the D-5 missile will be good for the peace movement. There is a tendency for arms control legislation to be defined so that the liberal 40 percent of the Congress is together at the outset. An additional 10 percent makes a majority. Obviously, it is more difficult to start with 20 percent and persuade 30 percent. The prospect of legislative success is greatest in a given year if success is already close. But another lesson from the MX campaign is that in a few years' time a campaign that splits the liberal 40 percent in half, as the MX campaign did in 1981, can grow to



Trident sub: Future home for the D-5?

command a majority. We had the courage to undertake what looked like a hopeless cause a few years ago and created an issue where one did not appear to exist.

A D-5 campaign will not be just an exercise in determination and perseverance. It will help keep the grassroots network active. The peace movement is strongest in precisely those congressional districts where representatives already oppose the MX, support the freeze resolution, and oppose space weapons. The legislative agendas of most national peace organizations have neglected those districts during the last two years. National groups have tended to overuse their local chapters in the "swing" districts, the moderate 20 percent in the middle of the congressional spectrum, and underuse their support in the liberal districts that make up 40 percent of the U.S. population and most of their own membership.

Big city and suburban organizations that sprang up in response to the Freeze Campaign are languishing for lack of anything to do. An issue like the D-5 missile needs the concerted efforts of the activists whose talents are most available and least used. The 95 representatives who voted against the D-5 missile in the House on May 17, 1984, need to be encouraged to take more leadership and to speak out in floor debates. The 100 representatives who opposed the MX but not the D-5 need to be recruited to the cause of their 95 colleagues.

THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS

Another benefit for the peace movement is that the D-5 missile provides an ideal focus for a debate that goes to the heart of the arms race itself. Much of last year's discussion about the MX missile has turned on the question of its vulnerability to attack, a bogus issue since even the Scowcroft Commission declared that the Russians are not likely to attack MX silos. Deployed on submarines at sea, the Trident D-5 is not vulnerable to attack at all, in practical terms. Its only problem is that it gives the U.S. Navy too much aggressive military capability. To examine the arguments for and against the D-5 is to examine the fundamental philosophy of the U.S. nuclear force structure.

A probing inquiry into the assumptions behind U.S. nuclear strategy is potentially troublesome, but it is necessary. Important false assumptions have gone unchallenged in the public debate on nuclear weapons, and they will continue to haunt us until we deal with them directly.

Today, with the peace movement stronger than ever, but still politically unequal to the task of stopping the arms race, I suggest that we may be setting our intermediate goals too low rather than too high. One of the lessons of 1984 is that the more we ask for the more we get. The addition of space weapons to the peace movement agenda, for example, has not hindered the campaign against the MX.

One often hears the complaint that people do not want to spend their lives fighting one weapons system after another, which is reasonable, and furthermore that "we can't be against everything," which is ridiculous. Human patience for dealing with things like the death of the earth is not in unlimited supply, and temporary exhaustion is inevitable, but the proposition that we need to find some new weapon of mass destruction to support so we won't be seen as "negative" people is cowardice and semantic nonsense. We are not the ones who invent these weapons, and saving the earth from their effects is not a negative activity.

It would be healthy for the peace movement to affirm that we do, in fact, oppose all actions that make nuclear war more likely. We are not such pragmatists that we do only the easy things; we also start projects that take years to complete. Nor do we demand a guarantee of visible success in order to speak the truth as we see it. Our conviction that humanity will not survive many more decades of aggressive nuclear competition ought to be strong enough to keep temporary setbacks from determining our agenda. As they used to say during World War II, we are in this thing "for the duration."

Howard Morland is the disarmament coordinator of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy in Washington, D.C.

ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

Resources

BOOKLETS, PAMPHLETS, MAGAZINES

Empowerment of People for Peace, by Mary S. White and Dorothy Van Soest. This booklet, produced for Women Against Military Madness, an imaginative grass-roots group based in Minneapolis, describes an "empowerment process" that encourages activism against the arms race by enabling participants to "overcome apathy and move from a state of helplessness to a state of hope." The authors believe that the nuclear threat depresses people in a manner similar to the grieving cycle described by Elisabeth Kubler-Ross in her books on death and dying. The empowerment process is meant to move people from the first stage of the cycle—denial, anger, and helplessness—to hope and activism. The booklet offers guidelines for organizing and conducting your own empowerment group. Since the process rejuvenates exhausted activists, such a group could help prevent burnout or counter lack of support from family and friends. ($3 each from Women Against Military Madness, 3255 Hennepin Ave South, Minneapolis, MN 55408 612-827-5364.)

Collision Course at Kwajalein: Marshall Islanders in the Shadow of the Bomb, by Giff Johnson. For 25 years, the Pacific atoll of Kwajalein has been the primary range for testing the accuracy of ICBMs, and for developing ABM systems, including the recent Homing Overlay Experiments (intercepting enemy missiles in the upper atmosphere), part of the Star Wars program. Since 1970, Kwajalein has also been a nuclear target because of its antisatellite radar. This booklet documents both the history of U.S. weapons programs in the Marshall Islands, and of the Marshallese themselves, whose health and living conditions have deteriorated from being shunted from island to island to make way for U.S. military activity. They've begun to protest, and the booklet outlines how you can, too. Included is a list of defense contractors involved in weapons development at Kwajalein, and a bibliography. ($7.95, including air mail postage, from Pacific Concerns Resource Center, PO Box 27692, Honolulu, HI 96827 808-538-3522).

Space Weaponry: Anti-Ballistic Missile and Anti-Satellite Weapons. A six-page fact sheet that offers succinct background to the current ABM and ASAT debates—the crux of Reagan's Star Wars program. The sheet describes the 1972 ABM Treaty's provisions, current research that is shredding the treaty, and the need for an ASAT treaty. "The deployment of ASATs would threaten the means by which decision makers might prevent an accidental nuclear attack from triggering an all-out nuclear war," the sheet points out. (Free from the Council for a Livable World, 11 Beacon St, Boston, MA 02108.)

Preventing Nuclear War: The Case for a Comprehensive Test Ban, by Greenpeace and the Task Force for a Comprehensive Test Ban of the Committee for National Security. Averell Harriman states in this booklet's foreword that while the United States and the Soviet Union signed a Limited Test Ban Treaty in 1963—which he negotiated—a comprehensive nuclear test ban, prohibiting all nuclear explosions for military or peaceful purposes, has been the goal of every American president from Eisenhower to Carter. The booklet provides succinct answers to questions about a CTB and why it's needed—especially to counter proliferation—and what the American electorate should do. (Single copies free, bulk rates available from the Committee for National Security, 2000 P St NW, Suite 515, Washington, DC 20036 202-833-3140.)

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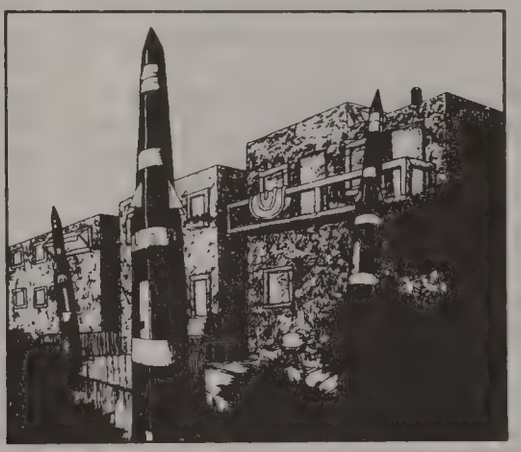

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Holly Near sings on "Out of the Darkness"

communities to match themselves with similar Soviet towns, and to send them self-portraits, including school portraits by students. The Pairing Project now has packages of materials for elementary and secondary schools on the Soviet Union and its relations with the United States. The secondary-school package includes a mini-course and study guide on Soviet history and U.S.-Soviet relations, and information on Soviet teenagers' lives, the Russian language and alphabet. The grade-school package includes maps, stories, and two tapes—one about growing up in Russia and the other of Russian fairy tales. Wonderful for encouraging students to go on to fill our crucial shortage of Soviet scholars and specialists. (Each package $9.95 from Ground Zero Resource Center, PO Box 19329, Portland, OR 97219 503-245-3519.)

"Dear Mr. President," an open letter to Ronald Reagan by Alfred W. Bauer, M.D. This letter to the President "about war and peace and our chances for survival in a world gone nuclear-mad" is by a member of Washington State Physicians for Social Responsibility who was a schoolboy in Germany in the 1930's and fought on the Eastern front in WW II. Its 43 short chapters start with the Battle of Bunker Hill and move forward to aspects of the nuclear peril. Beautifully illustrated, mostly with Käthe Kollwitz lithographs and 19th century engravings of the horrors of war. ($10.50, including postage, from Alfred W. Bauer M.D., 12819-120th Ave NE, Kirkland, WA 98034 206-821-8899.)

The Nonviolent Activist, the successor to *WIN* magazine, published 10 times a year by the War Resisters League. The first issue (December 1984) includes the late Barbara Deming on feminism and disarmament activism, an article on nonviolent resistance in the Philippines, and news about local causes and projects around the country. (Free to members, $15 a year for nonmembers from the War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 212-228-0450.)

RECORDS

Out of the Darkness, an unusually excellent collection of antinuclear weapons and -power songs (most recorded specifically for this album) by such artists as Holly Near, Pete Seeger, Cris Williamson and Jesse Colin Young. Single copies, $8.98. Peace groups may order in bulk for fundraising purposes at vastly reduced rates from Fire on the Mountain, PO Box 3827, Berkeley, CA 94703 415-547-6696.

FILM

Louder Than Our Words: Women and Civil Disobedience, 37-minute videotape directed by Lydia Dean Pilcher and Harriet Hirshorn. This documentary recalls women's historical use of civil disobedience to protest slavery, to gain the right to form labor unions and to vote, and to create equal opportunity, and, more recently, to protest the arms race. The producers follow the experiences of one group of feminists, from their early planning and soul searching meetings to their arrest for civil disobedience at the United Nations on June 14, 1982. Among those interviewed are writer Grace Paley and Molly Rush, one of the Plowshares Eight. ($40 rental from Green Mountain Post Films, PO Box 229, Turner Falls, MA 01376 413-863-4754 or -8248.)

Faith, War, and Peace in the Nuclear Age, 30-minute videotape directed by Eric Thiermann, documents a conference held in northern California to galvanize the religious community against the arms race. The speakers, who include Catholic Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit, David Brower of the Friends of the Earth, and representatives of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Lutheran Church, challenge the notion of a just nuclear war, and connect defense spending with affronts to social justice. In one particularly strong speech (a useful antidote to Moral Majority bromides about the inevitability of Armaggedon) Rabbi Lester Frazin of the Pacific Association of Reform Rabbis says, "Two events 39 years ago should have alerted us to our peril. Auschwitz warned us of the human willingness to destroy. Hiroshima warned us of the human capacity to destroy." ($35 videotape rental, $50 16-mm rental from Religious Community for Peace Films, PO Box 163078, Sacramento, CA 95816 916-456-2616.)

BOOKS

The Fragile Flag, by Jane Langton. This well-known young-adult author has already won several awards for her books about Georgie, a quiet little girl from Concord, Massachusetts. In this extremely moving and delightfully funny adventure, Georgie leads a children's march from Concord to the White House to deliver her letter to the president protesting his new Peace Missile. He says it will ensure the defense of the United States; Georgie and her 16,000 fellow marchers believe it will annihilate the world. A wonderful and entertaining means of introducing 8-to-12-year olds to activism. (Harper & Row, $11.95 hardcover.)

Nuclear America: Military and Civilian Nuclear Power in the United States, 1940-1980, by Gerard H. Clarfield and William M. Wiecek. A comprehensive history of the development and military use of the atom that is particularly clear and useful to students or newcomers to the disarmament movement who want to know how we got where we are. (Harper & Row hardcover, $19.95.)

CORRECTION

In the October Resources, the distributor of the 72-minute film *Citizen: The Political Life of Allard K. Lowenstein* was incorrectly listed as Time-Life Video Distribution Center. In fact, the distributor is Cinema Guild, 1697 Broadway, New York, NY 10019 212-246-5522.

SPECIAL MENTION

FACING THE MADNESS: A Conference on Radioactive Waste, a 30-minute videotape produced and directed by Barbara Zahm, for Zahm Productions and the Icarus Endeavor. Last March, Dr. Wally Burnstein of New Jersey Physicians for Social Responsibility organized a conference on radioactive waste, to alert communities to the dangers involved if they become dumping grounds. This film of the conference's highlights skillfully intercuts scientists' descriptions of the hazards of low-level radioactive waste and the methods currently used to store it, with the testimony of citizens harmed by it, including an atomic vet's widow and an activist from a community near a "leaky" dump. The experts featured include such longtime researchers as Drs. Judith Johnsrud and Rosalie Bertell. This documentary, which effectively brings home the point that nuclear weapons don't have to be detonated to harm living and future generations, has the potential to be *The Last Epidemic* of the radioactive waste issue. Highly recommended. The videotape can be rented for $35 from Zahm Productions, PO Box 20417, New York, NY 10025 212-222-2025. For more information about organizing against radioactive and toxic dumps in your community, contact People for Responsible Management of Radioactive Waste, Denville, NJ 07834.

PHOTO BY IRENE YOUN

DIRECT ACTION *(cont'd)*

expecting a splintering over civil disobedience, they left with a strong sense of unity. Hale views the outcome as "really supportive" and "a good expansion in tactics." And Harold Nash, author of one of the anti-CD amendments, was satisfied, too. "We did vote against illegal tax resistance," says the former technical director of a major Navy laboratory in Groton, Connecticut. "And we're basically leaving the rest up to local groups. I wouldn't want to be in an organization that *sponsors* CD." But then, in an uncanny echo of Randy Kehler's opening speech, Nash adds, "But I have to say that I respect the commitment of people who feel so strongly that they'll put themselves on the line for it."

Perhaps next year a stronger direct action strategy will reach the convention floor. But for now, few are finding fault with a program that sent both sides home happy. Those who wind up in jail this year can take heart at the surprising level of support for CD exhibited in St. Louis. Those who would prefer to stay clear of the law can be comfortable with the fact that the Campaign won't be organizing or sponsoring CD events of its own. Whether planned or not, it was an astute compromise. **—Renata Rizzo**

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD

GOOD READING

The People. Socialist biweekly covering major national/international developments. Since 1891. $4.00/one year, includes free pamphlet, "'The Nuclear Winter'" $1.00/four months. **The People (NT)**, 914 Industrial Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94303.

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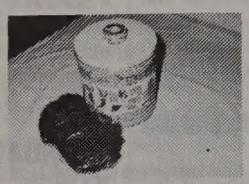

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ASSOCIATIONS

Bertrand Russell Society. Information: *NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.*

EARTH RESCUE CORPS invites 100 volunteers, some paid, some travel worldwide. Actions for total nuclear disarmament, world disarmament agency, new world economic order, environmental repair, Provisional World Parliament, other specifics for human survival, social reconstruction. Apply to: Earth Rescue, 1480 Hoyt #31, Lakewood CO 80215.

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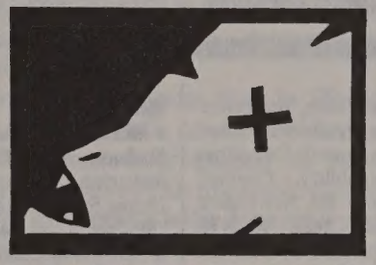

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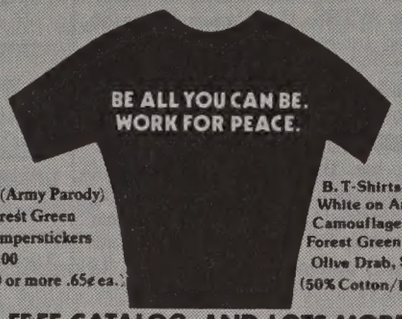

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Mail to: *Community Bulletin Board, Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue, Room 512, New York, NY 10001.*

Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast. Please submit events as soon as they are scheduled. March events due January 25.

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

ANTINUKE DOUBLE FEATURE

Paired showings, on consecutive days, of *Threads*, a scientifically accurate *Day After* describing the effects of nuclear war on an English town, and *On the 8th Day*, a documentary on nuclear winter. Featured on Atlanta superstation WTBS, the films will also be carried by cable stations across the country. On **Jan 13 and 14, Jan 23 and 24**, and both films back-to-back on **Jan 28**. For more information, see page 13.

INAUGURAL RESISTANCE

From **Jan 19-22**, the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) is calling for decentralized, creative actions in local communities to show resistance as the Reagan administration begins its second term. FOR is asking participants to write or call with specifics about their actions. For more information, *contact*: FOR, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.

DAY OF REFLECTION

On the first of each month, jailed Plowshares activists are joining together in a fast as a call to reflection and action. Each month one of the prisoners will publish a statement. They invite others to respond and join them in this act of conscience. *Contact*: James Perkins, Danbury Prison Camp, Pembroke Station, Danbury, CT 06810.

CENTRAL AMERICA/ALERT

A coalition of religious, Central American, and peace groups—including SANE, Sojourners and Mobilization for Survival—are organizing a network to prevent and/or resist escalation of the conflict in Nicaragua. They are circulating a pledge whose signers, already numbering in the tens of thousands, will go to local government offices, military bases, the CIA and the White House in case of escalation to demand a halt to U.S. military involvement. For more information, *contact*: Local religious, peace or Central American groups or the Inter-religious Task Force on Central America, 475 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10115 (212) 870-3383.

JANUARY 12

IOWA

• **Mason City** Workshop, "Peace: Human Rights in the World," will be repeated on **Jan 26**. *Contact*: Peace Task Force, First Presbyterian Church Fellowship Hall, 201 Willowbrook Dr, Mason City, IA 50401 (515) 424-4273.

TEXAS

• **Austin** War Tax Resistance workshop with speakers from the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee and the Center on Law and Pacifism. **On Jan 13**, training for those interested in becoming war tax counselors. *Contact*: Kirk Kisinger, 3008 Pin Oak, Ct, Austin TX 78704 (512) 445-7068.

JANUARY 14

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** City-wide meeting of San Francisco Freeze to elect Executive Board; Dolores St Baptist Church. *Contact*: San Francisco Freeze, 2940 16 St, Rm 104, San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 621-0858.

• **Oakland** Wine and cheese parties for the producers of *The Last Epidemic* and *In the Nuclear Shadow*. Screening of latest film, *The Edge of History*, and preview of work in progress, *Women of America*, **through Jan 22**. *Contact*: Vivienne Verdon-Roe, 6511 Gwin Rd, Oakland, CA 94611 (415) 654-6312.

JANUARY 15

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S BIRTHDAY

JANUARY 16

WASHINGTON

• **Poulsbo** "Teaching Peace," presentation and discussion by Jeannie Ross, president of Kitsap County Educators for Social Responsibility. *Contact*: Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Rd NW, Poulsbo, WA 98370 (206) 692-7053.

JANUARY 18

MAINE

• **Lewiston** "Music for Peace," a series of concerts with Susan Savell supported by the Maine Council of Churches. She will be in **Presque Isle** on **Jan 27**. *Contact*: Susan Savell, Biddeford Pool, ME 04006 (207) 282-0752.

NEW YORK

• **New York** "Promoting Alternatives: Grassroots Media and Social Change" conference **through Jan 20**. *Contact*: Media Network, 208 W 13 St, New York, NY 10011 (212) 620-0877.

• **New York** Forum on first-strike weapons, with Studs Terkel, Paul Warnke and Reagan officials. Loeb Auditorium, New York University. *Contact*: Bob Schwartz, (212) 475-3232. To be broadcast by National Public Radio.

JANUARY 19

TEXAS

• **Houston** National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee meeting to plan strategy for April 15, **through Jan 20**. *Contact*: National War Tax Coordinating Committee, PO Box 1584, Colorado Springs, CO 80901 (303) 634-1416.

JANUARY 23

CALIFORNIA

• **Oakland** "Everything I Ever Wanted to Ask About Nukes And Was Afraid To Know," comedy and horror show by Barbara George. *Contact*: Mama Bear's Cafe, 6536 Telegraph St, Oakland, CA 94609 (415) 428-9684.

JANUARY 25

RHODE ISLAND

• **Providence** Opening of the Soviet Children's Peace Art exhibition, with wine and cheese; Gallery location TBA. *Contact*: Rhode Island Mobilization for Survival, PO Box 2534, Providence, RI 02906.

JANUARY 26

CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** "Grassroots Electoral Work: Dialogue and Evaluation," conference with representatives from the Rainbow Coalition, Freeze Campaign and Green movement; UC Berkeley Campus. *Contact*: Disarmament Resource Center, 942 Market St, Rm 708, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 495-0526.

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** Women Against Military Madness (WAMM) annual meeting featuring a performance of the Nuclear Dance Suite and a showing of the film "Mother of the Year"; Lutheran Northwestern Seminary. *Contact*: WAMM, 3255 Hennepin Av S, Ste 125-B, Minneapolis, MN 55408 (612) 827-5364.

JANUARY 27

CALIFORNIA

• **Hayward** 15th Annual People's World Banquet, with Richard Gordon Hatcher, Mayor of Gary, Indiana and National Chair of Jesse Jackson for President Committee; Centennial Hall, 22292 Foothill Blvd. *Contact*: People's World, 1819 10 St, Berkeley, CA 94710 (415) 848-1373.

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Pittsburgh** "Visions of Peace: Hope for Humanity," a photography exhibit; Les Idees Gallery, Duquesne Student Union, **through Feb 15**. *Contact*: The Thomas Merton Center, 2125 Penn Av, Pittsburgh, PA 15224 (412) 361-3022.

JANUARY 31

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Pittsburgh** Thomas Merton's 70th birthday, a three-day celebration featuring, **on Feb 1**, a poetry reading with Daniel Berrigan. **On Feb 2**, the annual Thomas Merton Award, in recognition of commitment to peace and justice, will be given to peace activist and author Henri Nouwen. *Contact*: The Thomas Merton Center, 5125 Penn Av, Pittsburgh, PA 15224 (412) 361-3022.

FEBRUARY 1

CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** Third annual Women for Peace Contest; Bay Area junior and senior high school students are asked to write letters to President Reagan on "How to move toward a peaceful world." Winning letters will also be sent to President Chernenko of the USSR. Contest runs **through March 15**. *Contact*: East Bay Women for Peace, 2302 Ellsworth St, Berkeley, CA 94704 (415) 849-3020.

FEBRUARY 7

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** "Physicians and the Global Challenge: 1985 and Beyond," Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) annual meeting featuring keynote speaker Adm. Noel Gaylor, an international panel of physicians, and Norman Lear presenting an award to Carl Sagan; Biltmore Hotel, **through Feb 9**. *Contact*: PSR, 639 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 491-2754.

• **San Francisco** Gallery exhibition and discussion on positive peace alternatives; Canessa Gallery, 708 Montgomery St. *Contact*: Disarmament Resource Center, 942 Market St, Rm 708, San Francisco, CA 94102 (415) 495-0526.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Student conference at Columbia University on US-Soviet relations and the arms race, with Marshall Shulman, Kosta Tsipis and others; **through Feb 9**. *Contact*: Center for World Affairs, 206 Ferris Booth Hall, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027 (212) 280-3611.

FEBRUARY 10

VERMONT

• **Statewide** Ski-for-Peace to benefit American Friends Service Committee. *Contact*: Vermont AFSC, 61 Western Av, Brattleboro, VT 05310 (802) 257-4776.

FEBRUARY 12

IOWA

• **Glenwood** Christian Nonviolent Resistance Workshop, with Daniel Berrigan, Jim Wallls, and others; Our Lady of the Holy Rosary Church, **through Feb 14**. *Contact*: Faith and Resistance, 510 16 Av SE, Cedar Rapids, IA 52401 (319) 362-8061.

FEBRUARY 15

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** Alternative job fair and workshops with keynote lecture by Ralph Nader on the need for social responsibility in high-tech careers. Participating organizations cannot engage in weapons research, production or development; Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). *Contact*: High Technology Professionals for Peace, 639 Massachusetts Av, Rm 316, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 497-0605.

FEBRUARY 16

NEW HAMPSHIRE

• **Statewide** Ski-for-Peace to benefit the American Friends Service Committee. *Contact*: Arnie Alpert, New Hampshire AFSC, PO Box 1081, Concord, NH 03301 (603) 224-2407.

FEBRUARY 17

ILLINOIS

• **Chicago** International exhibition of works by calligraphic artists expressing need to end the threat of nuclear war; **through April 3**. *Contact*: The Peace Museum, 430 W Erie St, Chicago, IL 60610 (312) 440-1860.

Compiled by Agnieszka Fryszman

Thanks to everyone who mailed in events.

In the northwestern corner of the Peace Park in Hiroshima, amid a quiet grove of trees, the earth suddenly swells. It is not much of a mound. One can walk around it in a minute. Visitors searching for the Peace Bell, directly ahead, or the Children's Monument, down the path to the right, often pay it little mind. It is only about seven feet high and 50 feet across, and the grass that covers it is often parched. At the crest sits a five-foot stone monument that resembles the tip of a pagoda. It's oddly under scale. Many single graves in Western countries are graced by larger markers.

Smoke from a dozen sticks of incense rises from the trough in front of the

Memorial Mound. The Mound is a spooky place. Visitors do not dawdle. No one steps over the low fence which surrounds the Mound, no one tries to climb it. It is not a spot to visit in the evening or after dark. One tends to hurry past it even during the day without so much as a sideways glance. Its beauty is of the eerie kind: a lump of earth (not quite lush), a stone marker, a grey wooden fence. Clouds of incense. Cicadas in the trees overhead, screeching.

Unlike most mounds this one is hollow. Directly across from the incense trough, in the rear—if anything circular could be said to have a rear—the fence has a gate, and down five steps from the gate is a door. Visitors are normally not allowed through the gate or the door but occasionally the city of Hiroshima, which manages the Mound, honors a request from a foreign journalist. Walking through this door one swallows hard, for under the Mound rests the greatest concentration of departed humanity in the world.

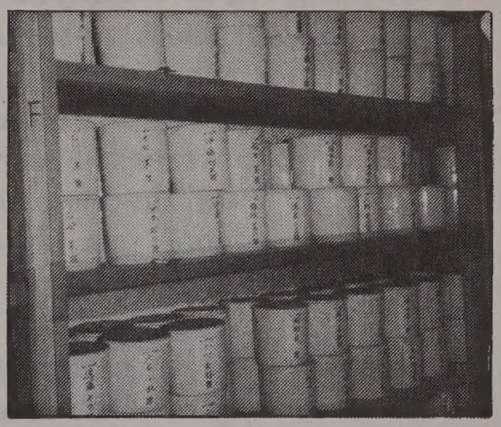
A small altar with a statue of the goddess Kannon, flanked by two black candlesticks (possibly marble), greets you. The ceiling is low, the light fluorescent. To the right and left the walls are lined with pine shelving. Stacked neatly on the shelves, like cans of soup in a grocery store, are small white cannisters with white lids and Japanese writing on the side—each lettering different. There are 1,118 white cans in all. explains Masami Ohara, a city official. Each contains the ashes of the individual whose name appears on the cannister. Behind curtains on either side of the altar sit several dozen plain, pine boxes, the size

of caskets, said to contain the ashes of about 70,000 unidentified victims of the atomic bombing. If, in an instant, all of the residents of Muncie, Indiana, or Bethesda, Maryland, or Lawrence, Massachusetts, or Bakersfield, California, were reduced to ashes, and those ashes were carried away to one repository, this is all the space the remains would require.

Most of those who died in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, or shortly thereafter, were cremated as quickly as possible, partly to prevent an epidemic of disease, partly in keeping with Japanese custom. (Some victims were turned to ash by the atomic bomb itself, a remarkably efficient process, death and cremation occurring in the same instant.) Some were cremated on makeshift altars at a temple that once stood near the present site of the Mound, one-half mile from the hypocenter of the bomb. The ashes of many others, cremated elsewhere in the city, were trucked, carted or carried by hand to the temporary storage site at the temple in the weeks that followed. The cremations were done by rescue workers and others who did not know the identity of the bodies they were burning. The sites where bodies were found, and set afire, were noted but the victims' names were usually unknown.

Starting in 1946 the surviving citizens of Hiroshima contributed funds to build a temporary mound, vault and chapel at the site. In 1955 a new charnel was completed at municipal expense, under a mound modeled after an imperial mausoleum of the Momoyama Era. For several years the collection of ashes slowly grew because remains of victims were still being found. One particularly sad pile of skulls and bones was discovered at an elementary school. But for two decades now the city of ashes under the mound has maintained a fairly stable population.

Of the tens of thousands of remains resting in the Mound only the ashes in the white cans have been identified. They have resided here for decades, unclaimed by family members or friends. (In many cases all of their relatives and friends were killed by the Bomb.) No one has ever grieved for them. Every year local newspapers publish the 1100 names written on the sides of the cans and every year several cannisters are finally claimed and transferred to a family burial site. (In 1984, for example, 20 cans were taken off the shelf.) Of those left behind most will remain in perpetuity now that so many years have passed. They are a chilling site. The cans are bright white, like the flash in the sky over Hiroshima that killed so many of them. From all corners of the city they were collected—



babies, probably, as well as soldiers. Unwanted, they at least have the dignity of a private coffin, an identification, a life (if one were to look into it) before death.

But what of those behind the curtains?

The pine crates are marked with the names of the sites where the human dust and bits of bone were found—a factory or school, perhaps, or a neighborhood crematory. But beyond that the ashes are anonymous. "They are all mixed together and will never be identified," says Mr. Ohara. (The Japanese are a very homogenous people.) Behind the curtains there is little light; the crates are stacked inelegantly in a space the size of someone's bedroom. Thousands outside may grieve for these victims but there is no dignity here. Under a mound, behind two curtains, inside a few pine boxes: This is what became of one-quarter of the population of the city of Hiroshima in August 1945. **—Greg Mitchell**

August 6 and August 9 hold special significance in 1985. Marking the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki will be a major focus of antinuclear activity this year, in the United States and around the world. Vigils and forums will be held in August in hundreds of communities. Miles of peace ribbon will be tied around the Pentagon. Arms control groups will draw attention to their efforts to promote nuclear test ban initiatives. The Nevada test site will be the scene of mass civil disobedience. To recall the actual events that are being marked, and explore what they mean to the movement today, NUCLEAR TIMES editor Greg Mitchell will be writing regular reports based on his month-long visit to Hiroshima and Nagasaki last summer.

PHOTOS BY GREG MITCHELL

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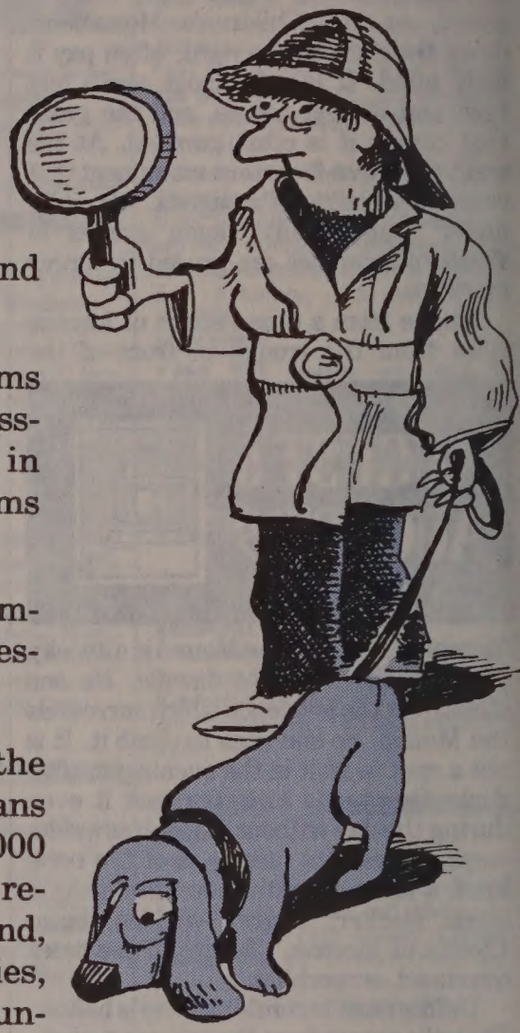

WHO are the key legislators and policy makers for and against the nuclear arms race?

WHAT are the antinuclear organizations and arms control groups doing now? **WHAT** are their grassroots strategies for 1985? **WHAT** is happening in Washington, D.C. around the nuclear arms debate?

WHEN will mass demonstrations for nuclear disarmament take place? **WHEN** is the next congressional vote on the MX?

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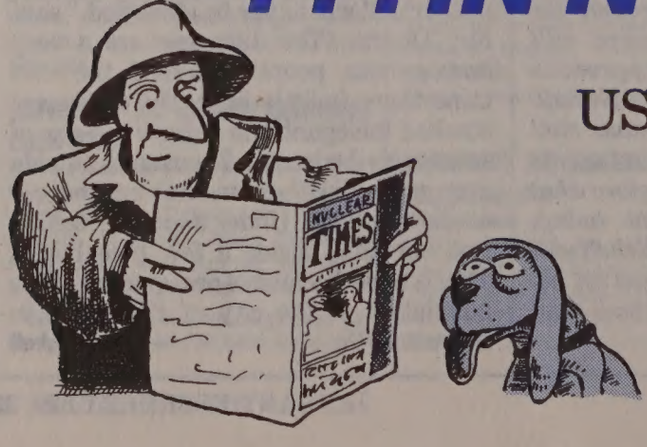

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